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Turnover of Old-Age Assistance Workers

Up From Poverty
Movement Out of Low Income Occupations

Demonstration Projects in Public Assistance
Fiscal Year 1969

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MAY-JUNE 1970

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Expected Turnover Among Old-Age Assistance Social Workers

Thomas Tissue

Research on staff turnover in public welfare, as Podell points out, "must . . . involve inquiry on retention: such research must include not only appointees who leave but also those who stay to implement the regulations and to become the supervisors of new employees."[1] His point is of considerable significance to the subject. Despite the emergence of staff turnover as a fully recognized and major "problem" in public welfare, even the most enlightened discussions of the phenomenon have been one-sided. Tollen, in his 1957 definitive study, took great pains to contact 1,824 child welfare and family service caseworkers who resigned during his study year.[2] Kermish and Kushin's recent study was based on "personal interviews with a selected and representative number of former employees chosen on a random sample basis."[3] But neither study collected data on those who stayed. Though both studies (they are cited because they are among the most competent) could produce excellent syntheses of the bases of discontent among former social workers, neither could compare the feelings of the "leavers" with those of the "stayers" nor deal with the particular complaints that might distinguish between them. In short, neither could provide the comparison to which Podell refers.

This article reports the findings of a recent study dealing with the employment plans of social workers on the job in a public assistance agency, both those who planned to stay and those who planned to leave, and exploring the bases for decisions to leave the agency. It was conducted by the Research and Statistics Division of the California Department of Social Welfare.

In January 1969 each of California's 58 counties received copies of a self-administered questionnaire to be distributed to *all* full-time employees who were assigned to old-age assistance (OAA) service positions during the preceding month. The questionnaire dealt with the social worker's background and training, current work assignment, response to recent organizational changes in the administration of OAA, plans for future employment, and opinion regarding the relevance of current agency programs to the needs of elderly poor persons.[4] Respondents were guaranteed anonymity and specifically requested not to sign the questionnaire, but merely to indicate the county in which they worked and to return the completed form in an envelope addressed to the Department of Social Welfare. Each county administrator reported the number of OAA service workers to whom questionnaires were distributed. These reports were consolidated to provide the base figures on which "return rates" were computed.

Of the 809 questionnaires distributed, 615 (76 percent) were completed and returned. The rate of response is comparatively high for such studies and does not appreciably fluctuate from county to county. In other words, there is no apparent bias associated with place of employment. Nor does there appear to be underrepresentation of any particular skill level within the sample. The sample distribution of job titles coincides with the titles applying to California's caseworkers as a whole. However, the sample is as subject to possible bias associated with respondent self-selection as all studies based on self-administered questionnaires. Although the nature of the study excludes the most common source of self-selection bias—that associated with education and occupation—the sample does not represent a strict application of probability sampling and this qualification should be kept in mind.

Mr. Tissue, a senior research analyst with the California Department of Social Welfare, conducted the study described in this article.

Who planned to leave, who to stay?

Of the 615 OAA workers responding to the questionnaire, 96 (16 percent) definitely planned to leave their jobs with the local agency during the next 3 years. Another 140 (23 percent) thought it likely that they would leave during this period, and 103 (17 percent) did not know what they would do. These rates compare favorably with the limited data available on actual rates of turnover in the State. As shown in the tabulation below, 39 percent of the workers in the study were "definitely" or "probably" planning to leave. During the preceding year, the actual rate of turnover in California's Merit System Counties (that is, the 43 counties that receive employer services from the State) was 39.5 percent for the social work positions.

Plans to leave local agency in next 3 years

	Percent
Will definitely leave	16
Will probably leave	23
Really cannot say	17
Will probably stay	23
Will definitely stay	21
Total	100 (615)

When grouped by the characteristics of the counties in which they worked, neither the comparative size nor the pay scale of the workers' local agencies was associated with plans to leave. Workers in the larger counties intended to leave at substantially the same rate as those in smaller counties and workers in the better paying counties were, if anything, slightly more prone to quit than those in less generous counties.

County caseload size, by plans to leave

	Over 20,000 cases	15,000-19,999 cases	10,000-15,000	2,000-9,999	Under 2,000
Percent definitely or probably leaving	39	39	37	40	34
Total	100(180)	100(107)	100(84)	100(144)	100(76)

County pay scale, by plans to leave

	Upper third of counties	Lower two-thirds of counties
Percent definitely or probably leaving	40	35
Total	100(415)	100(176)

A number of personal characteristics are associated with decisions to end employment, however. As shown in table 1, plans to leave the agency were more common to women, beginning social workers, lower paid social workers, single persons, and the very young (under 30) and the very old (60 and over).

No significant relation appeared between employment plans and graduate education, undergraduate major, or membership in professional associations. Furthermore, the introduction of age as a test considerably reduces the effect that sex, job title, monthly pay, and marital status have on the decision to leave the agency. See table 2.

The general tendency for women to leave more frequently than men is reversed in the 30-39 age group and vanishes for those over 60 years. The original relation between job title and plans breaks down in three of the four age groups. Similarly, the original association with monthly pay is sustained only in the 30-39 age group. Least durable is the general association between marital status and employment plans: this was reversed in all four age categories.

Table 1. Characteristics associated with plans to leave

Characteristic	Percent definitely or probably leaving	Total
Sex		
Female	42	100 (385)
Male	32	100 (229)
Job title[1]		
Social Worker I	50	100 (123)
Social Worker II	40	100 (328)
Social Worker III and specialists	27	100 (150)
Monthly pay		
Under $600	47	100 (72)
$600-$699	44	100 (281)
$700-$799	35	100 (129)
$800 and more	27	100 (108)
Marital status		
Single, never married	43	100 (141)
Married	37	100 (348)
Divorced, widowed, separated	35	100 (112)
Age		
Under 30	60	100 (209)
30-39	38	100 (93)
40-49	10	100 (115)
50-59	15	100 (131)
60 and over	68	100 (53)

[1] *Social Worker I is an entrance level or trainee position and is the lowest paid of the three. Social Worker II is at the journeyman level and usually requires from 6 months to a year's experience as a Social Worker I. Social Worker III, an advanced classification; the worker usually carries the most difficult technical assignments.*

Table 2. Sex, job title, salary, and marital status, by age, by plans to leave

Characteristic	Percent planning to leave agency				
	All social workers	Under 30 years	30-39 years	40-59 years	60 years and over
Sex					
Female	42	64	26	17	68
Male	32	51	45	6	67
Job title					
Social Worker I	50	60	55	5	([1])
Social Worker II	40	61	34	16	64
Social Worker III	27	61	30	10	71
Monthly pay					
Under $600	47	68	60	10	([1])
$600 - $699	44	59	39	10	86
$700 - $799	35	80	30	18	53
$800 and more	27	50	29	11	81
Marital status					
Single, never married	43	54	28	0	([1])
Currently married	37	65	43	13	67
Divorced, widowed, separated	35	([1])	38	19	75
Total	38	60	38	13	68

[1] *Too few cases for percentages.*

In reading across rather than down table 2, it becomes apparent that age is the most powerful and consistent predictor of employment plans. For both sexes, each job title, every pay level, and every marital status, it was the youngest and the oldest workers who were most likely to leave and those in the 40-59 age group who were the most likely to stay.

The finding that age is strongly related to employment plans was not, of course, unexpected. The relation between being young and job turnover has been identified by Tollen, Podell, and many others.[5] But it is not clearly established to what degree this differential separation rate reflects different response to remediable aspects of the local welfare operation.

Beliefs, complaints, and opinions of young workers

Attention is given to the youngest workers rather than the oldest for two reasons. First, there are few social workers over 60. Second, the general policy regarding retirement at 65 cuts the ground from under any serious attempt to deal with the "reasons" for turnover at 60 or above. Rather, the examination centers on those conditions and beliefs that might account for the pronounced tendency of workers under 30 to sever connections with public assistance social work.

As might be expected, younger workers differed appreciably from older workers in the identification of agency inadequacies. They were significantly more likely to feel that they lacked authority; their caseloads were too large; their training was inadequate; they were subject to conflicting directives; they were required to refer routine decisions to higher authorities; and they had received inadequate supervision. See table 3. Excessive paperwork was the only complaint more common to older (42 percent) than to younger workers (32 percent). For the most part, however, it seems clear that the younger workers were more likely than the older to be disgruntled with working conditions.

Age-related differences are also apparent for procedural and structural preferences in OAA administration, as well as for opinions about the effectiveness of the agency in caring for recipients. Over the past several years, OAA organization and administration have had two major changes in the 58 counties, known popularly as the OAA "conversion." The first freed the social worker of all but the service function—eligibility, grant determination, and related administrative tasks are now the responsibility of a new type of eligibility worker. The social worker now operates as a service specialist, concerned with those cases referred to him for professional attention. The second major change involved the substitution of an affidavit completed by the applicant for a detailed investigation of each applicant's eligibility for aid.

The younger social workers were more likely to endorse the major elements of the OAA conversion. That is to say, they were more inclined to favor a

Table 3. Identification of service-inhibiting conditions in the agency, by age

Condition	Percent identifying problem		
	Under 30 years	30 years and older	Significance[1]
Lacks authority	31 (n=208)	23 (n=390)	.02
Caseloads too large	43 (n=209)	25 (n=392)	.001
Inadequate training	40 (n=209)	24 (n=392)	.001
Conflicting directives	36 (n=209)	29 (n=392)	.03
Improper handling of routine decisions	45 (n=209)	25 (n=392)	.001
Inadequate supervision	17 (n=209)	11 (n=392)	.02

[1] *Based on difference-of-proportions test for two samples.*

"service only" caseload and the affidavit or "declaration of eligibility."

Endorsement of conversion, by age

	Percent endorsing policy		
	Under 30 years	30 years and older	Significance
Service only caseload . .	86 (n = 209)	79 (n = 386)	.02
Declaration .	81 (n = 208)	69 (n = 391)	.001

They were more likely to be critical of the actual effectiveness of the programs as they affect recipients' lives. They more often reported that the referral system fails to identify cases requiring attention and that they, as social workers, provided services recipients needed only "some of the time" or "hardly ever." Furthermore, they favored increasing the amount of grants rather than increasing the quantity or diversity of services.

Evaluation of services, by age

	Percent expressing opinion		
	Under 30	30 or older	Significance
System identifies and refers less than three-fourths of the recipients who need service	53 (n = 205)	46 (n = 379)	.04
Worker is able to provide services needed "only some of the time" or "hardly ever"	35 (n = 209)	26 (n = 388)	.01
Recipients would benefit more from grant than service increase	65 (n = 207)	51 (n = 390)	.001

The questionnaire also contained a number of items that apparently tapped an attitudinal dimension called "client directedness" (C-D) in the experiment. Four of these questions and the frequency of positive responses are shown below.

Question	Positive response	Percent responding positively
Should the department make an active effort to inform the community of the availability of its assistance programs?	Yes	88
Do you favor or oppose a guaranteed annual income for the aged?	*Strongly favor* or *tend to favor*	48
To whom does the caseworker owe basic loyalty—the recipient or the department?	*Recipient only* or *both, but more to recipient*	39
What is your general opinion of welfare rights groups?	Favorable	28

These items proved capable of Guttman scaling. They meet Ford's formal requirements for item error (< 15 percent), coefficient of reproducibility (> .90), and incidence of nonscale scores (< 5 percent for each nonscale score).[6] The total sample for "client directedness" spreads as follows:

C-D scale scores	Percent of total sample
4, 3 (high)	33
2 (medium)	28
1, 0 (low)	39
Total	100 (615)

Young workers were considerably more likely to appear at the upper end of the C-D scale than workers 30 and over. Conversely, older workers were twice as likely to appear at the lower end of the scale.

C-D scale scores, by age

	Percent	
	Under 30 years	30 years and over
High	48	24
Medium	28	27
Low	24	49
Total	100 (209)	100 (402)

The image of the young caseworker that emerges from the data seems to support expectations regarding young people in general. Although the differences in opinion between younger and older caseworkers are frequently small, they occur in a consistent direction or pattern. Those under 30 were more impatient with working conditions, as represented by complaints about insufficient authority, inadequate training, unreasonable workloads, inept supervision, and contradictory regulations and instructions. They were more inclined to favor structural changes in the agency to allow the worker to concentrate solely on service and spare recipients the rigors of eligibility investigations. They were more cynical about the benefits recipients obtain from agency service programs, more inclined to favor additional money rather than service for recipients, and more likely to align themselves with recipient interests.

Such a description lends inferential support to Daly's comment that "young people who enter social work are motivated by a desire to be of service. . . . The agency philosophy and the practice must support work values if we are to attract and retain social work staff."[7] Similarly, Kermish and Kushin speculate that a new breed of social worker is entering "public assistance agencies—the young 'activist'—critical, articulate, and impatient, unwilling to countenance certain agency or working conditions."[8] Although "activist" may not be

the word that best describes these tendencies, the data do indicate consistent differences in attitude between younger social workers and those 30 and above, as well as markedly high rates of planned departure for the youngest members of the social work staff. The question now is: To what degree are the complaints and beliefs of the younger social workers studied associated with individual decisions to leave their agencies?

The opinions and plans of younger social workers

The implicit model underlying most discussions of social worker turnover is the one Daly adumbrates in the quotation cited. Broadly sketched, it posits the belief that young workers are drawn to the agency by an interest in service. Once hired, however, they become disenchanted with the low status and huge caseloads of, and structural impediments to, public assistance social work and with their insufficient training for the work. Because these aspects are frequently mentioned by former social workers and workers planning to leave, it has been assumed that these conditions account for much of welfare's turnover problem and that the remedy to the problem lies with the correction of these specific complaints.

But the study data offer only minimal support to this model. The young social workers who felt they lacked proper authority were not significantly more likely to leave than those who were satisfied with the authority they had. Neither discontent with caseload size nor agency policy for routine decisions nor supervision appears significantly associated with plans to leave. Furthermore, complaints about the volume of paperwork are only negatively associated with leaving the agency. Of those objecting to the volume of paperwork, only 55 percent (n = 67) planned to leave, but 63 percent (n = 142) of those who did not consider paperwork a problem planned to leave. Only complaints concerning training and contradictory instructions appear to be positively related to employment plans. See table 4.

Neither does it appear that the younger workers' preferences regarding agency structure have the expected relation to employment plans. Those endorsing a "service only" caseload were as likely to leave as those who preferred some other casework model. More surprising is the finding that a preference for the current declaration system is more closely associated with plans to leave than opposition to the procedure presently in force.

Table 4. Identification of service-inhibiting conditions, by plans to leave the agency (for social workers under 30 years of age)

Condition	Percent planning to leave		
	Those identifying problem	Those not identifying problem	Significance
Lacks authority	63 (n=64)	60 (n=144)	n.s. at .05
Caseloads too large...	62 (n=89)	59 (n=120)	n.s. at .05
Inadequate training ..	68 (n=84)	55 (n=125)	.03
Conflicting directives .	68 (n=76)	56 (n=133)	.04
Improper handling of routine decisions	61 (n=93)	60 (n=116)	n.s. at .05
Inadequate supervision	72 (n=36)	58 (n=173)	n.s. at .05

Response to conversion, by plans to leave agency (for social workers under 30 years of age)

	Percent planning to leave agency		
	Those not preferring current system	Those preferring current system	Significance
Service only caseload. .	63 (n = 30)	60 (n = 179)	n.s. at .05
Declaration method ..	44 (n = 39)	65 (n = 169)	.02[1]

[1] Based on two-tailed test.

In a similar vein, opposition to current county control of OAA was no more productive of plans to leave than was endorsement of county control: 58 percent (n = 127) of those opposing and 63 percent (n = 81) of those endorsing county control planned to leave. Remarkably similar results occur on comparing those preferring grant increase (58 percent of those planning to leave) to those choosing service increases (64 percent planned to leave) and those who question the current referral process (57 percent planned to leave) to those who endorsed it (63 percent planned to leave).

Equally unprofitable is the attempt to relate the general C-D measure to employment plans. Differences in plans for the three levels of C-D scores are negligible.

Client directedness, by plans to leave agency (for social workers under 30 years of age)

C-D scale score	Percent planning to leave agency
4, 3 (high)	61 (n = 100)
2 (medium).....	63 (n = 59)
1, 0 (low).....	56 (n = 50)

Discussion

Confirmation of the null hypothesis, in this case that response to various working conditions was not consistently related to employment plans, is rarely the most desirable result of research. Typically, the researcher is much more satisfied when he is able to identify and

measure the elements constituting the phenomenon under study. In this instance, however, the failure to replicate "conventional wisdom" seems as important as any positive findings that might have come from the data.

Much of the thinking regarding staff retention, particularly regarding the younger social worker, has centered on the manipulation of standard job elements—pay, workload, formal responsibility, channels of communication, professional recognition, training, promotion opportunities, and the like. It seems safe to assert that improvements in these conditions are desirable on a number of counts. Social workers have a right to certain professional amenities, many of which they all too often lack. General improvements in the conditions of employment also seem likely to promote smoother operations in the agency and to improve its capacity for responding quickly and effectively to recipient need. Whether stable employment patterns will ensue is another matter, however, particularly in regard to younger workers.

As Daly points out, public assistance social work is frequently a last minute choice by young persons. In contrast to members of professions requiring extended academic preparation and early choice of specialization, a considerable number of public assistance workers make their commitment to the profession at a late date. Daly cites a study showing that 75 percent of the workers did not choose social work until their senior year in college and 50 percent did not make up their minds until after graduation.[9] Although her data do not deal specifically with the matter, they suggest that the self-selection or "weeding-out" process that occurs during the preemployment training of other professional persons takes place among social workers after they go to work for an agency.

Another aspect that must be taken into account is the tendency in younger workers to sample several kinds of jobs before selecting one kind as a career. A recent national study comparing turnover among public assistance social workers and employment security interviewers found that 55 percent of the social workers and 38 percent of the interviewers had quit their jobs within 3 years of being hired. For those under 30, however, the rates were 58 percent and 48 percent. Apparently, "high turnover among young college graduates is common in various organizations in business and government."[10]

A third, and less pleasant, consideration relates to the public assistance institution itself, rather than to readily manipulable aspects of the social worker's job. As its practitioners well know, public assistance social work can be a difficult and frustrating way to make a living, even under the best of circumstances. In her persuasive manner, Meyer asserts that "the inevitable legal and community restrictions that are as much a part of public welfare as are the opportunities within it for fulfillment, often may predetermine a case solution according to a policy or procedure rather than according to the overriding concerns, needs, capacities, and opportunities of the client. Given this system of public welfare, most public agencies have conducted working programs through the years while coping with restrictive grants, archaic attitudes and unrealistic mandates that have affected an ever increasing and complex kind of clientele."[11] And, further, "it is a testimony to our commitment to puritan ideals that this social institution has changed so little; that it has been so maladaptive in such radically changing times."[12]

The point does not seem lost on younger workers. In examining the reasons the social workers in the California study identified as contributing to plans to leave the field, it becomes apparent that their reasons are different from those of the older workers. See table 5. Among the younger social workers who planned to leave, the most commonly cited complaint was departmental philosophy and policy. Specific complaints about promotion opportunities, working conditions, and relationships with supervisors ranked relatively low. Among the middle age group (30-49 years), working conditions also ranked low among complaints leading to departure. It is this age group, however, in which career considera-

Table 5. Reasons for planning to leave, by age (for those who planned to leave in 3 years)

Reason	Percent identifying reason[1]		
	Under 30 years	30-49 years	50 and over
Department philosophy and policy	37	32	12
Desire to live elsewhere	29	23	7
Pay and benefits	22	34	4
Return to school	21	11	--
Raise family	21	2	--
Dissatisfied with all social work	20	11	2
Working conditions	18	17	9
Promotion opportunities	18	43	5
Relationships with supervisors	9	13	12
Retirement	--	9	86
	n = 126	n = 47	n = 56

[1] *As workers were instructed to check as many reasons as appropriate, the percentages add up to more than 100.*

tions seemed most important. Compared with the other workers, those in the middle age bracket were clearly the most concerned with pay and promotion opportunities. The oldest members, as might be expected, were leaving almost unanimously for retirement.

Although the questions were not specific about the aspects of "departmental philosophy and policy" the young social workers found offensive, a review of spontaneous comments on the questionnaire suggest that it was "philosophy and policy" regarding the recipient that was most distasteful.

The following comments are cited not as conclusive proof in support of this interpretation but to convey the flavor and tone of a significant segment of opinion.

"The regulations are often irrelevant to, and unresponsive to, human needs."

"We simply meet the federal requirements and not the client's needs."

"As long as people have only enough money to live on, whether or not I help is immaterial."

"Sometimes I wonder if the main motivation for conversion was *not* better service for clients, but lower labor costs to the department."

"This department is above average but spends most of its time and energy serving its own needs instead of serving the clients."

"Do we really have a goal besides keeping our clients alive and keeping complaints to a minimum?"

"I find special services very emotionally demanding and the strain of never being able to meet a client's needs is more than I want to take for very long."

These complaints are of an entirely different order from those relating to office space, staff meetings, promotion policies, or the other matters generally subsumed under the heading "personnel policy." They constitute powerfully negative responses to the general manner in which public welfare goes about its central task—caring for recipients. This basic style, which emerges from the intricate pattern of Federal, State, and local regulations, may well be the element to which Keppler alludes when he confesses, "I suspect that the reasons for job dissatisfaction run deeper than we know."[13] Should this be the case, little success will result from "turnover prophylaxis" at the local level. The manipulation and rearrangement of currently available resources may have desirable effects on other aspects of agency operation, but the present data suggest the problem of turnover among younger social workers will not be solved by reliance on such measures alone.

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[1] *Lawrence Podell, "Attrition of First-Line Social Service Staff,"* Welfare in Review, *Jan. 1967, p. 14.*

[2] *William B. Tollen,* Study of Staff Losses in Child Welfare and Family Service Agencies, *U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau (Washington: 1960), 193 pp.*

[3] *Irving Kermish and Frank Kushin,* An Examination of Variables Influencing Social Work Staff Turnover at a Public Welfare Agency, *mimeo report submitted to the California Department of Social Welfare, Dec. 1967, p. 7.*

[4] *For a more general discussion of the survey results, see Thomas Tissue,* A Survey of California's Old Age Security Caseworkers, *California Department of Social Welfare (Sacramento: 1969).*

[5] *Podell, op. cit., p. 10; Kermish and Kushin, op. cit, p. 18; Tollen, op. cit., p. 22.*

[6] *R. N. Ford, "A Rapid Scoring Procedure for Scaling Attitude Questions," in M. W. Riley, J. W. Riley, J. Toby, eds.,* Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis, *Rutgers University Press (New Brunswick: 1954), pp. 273-305.*

[7] *Dorothy Bird Daly, "Personnel in Public Welfare,"* Public Welfare, *July 1965, p. 184.*

[8] *Kermish and Kushin, op. cit., p. 18.*

[9] *Daly, op. cit., p. 187.*

[10] *Office of State Merit Systems,* "Analysis of Appointments, Separations, Promotions: Public Assistance Caseworkers and Employment Security Interviewers 1968," *U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington: 1968), p. 4.*

[11] *Carol H. Meyer,* Staff Development in Public Welfare Agencies, *Columbia University Press (New York: 1966), p. 29.*

[12] *Meyer, op. cit., pp. 31-32.*

[13] *John J. Keppler, "Necessity and Invention,"* Public Welfare, *Apr. 1963, p. 18.*

Up From Poverty | Intergenerational Movement Out of Low Income Occupations

Oliver C. Moles

Land of abundant opportunities has long been a popular view of the United States. The American dream of rising from humble beginnings by dint of hard work to positions of wealth, power, and prestige has become a part of the ethos of the Nation. But another view suggests that effort is not enough, that social barriers prevent men from attaining their dreams. Why do some men move up while others remain at the economic level of their fathers? Economic conditions, family and community experience, personal attributes, even physical limitations would seem to be important, yet our knowledge of the role of each, and especially of their interplay, is far from complete.

This article will examine a number of social factors in the backgrounds of a national sample of men that may help account for the level of their jobs at the time of the study, as compared with that of their fathers. These factors include their previous job experience, education, present family and family of birth, place of residence, geographic mobility, and demographic characteristics. The fathers of all were either farmers or laborers or service workers, that is, had been in occupations that, by and large, pay relatively little.[1]

The discussion here will center on upward occupational mobility across intergenerational lines. The antecedent variables that may help explain the men's job levels will be studied both by themselves and after holding constant the effects of other antecedents. The most important antecedents will be examined in detail. The antecedents of the first job level will also be studied, because of the demonstrated significance of a man's first full-time job to his present job.

This is a secondary analysis of data collected in the spring of 1960 from almost 3,000 heads of "spending units" across the country[2] for a study of income and economic behavior in the United States.[3] A "spending unit" was defined as "all members of a family who pool their income for major items of expense," in which the head is the major earner (always the husband for married couples).

Two groups will be examined in detail: sons of farmers (farm owners, tenants, and managers)—a sample of 577 men; and sons of laborers and service-workers—a sample of 306 men. To determine the father's occupation, the men were asked this question: What was your father's usual occupation while you were in grade school? Because farmers and laborers have quite different types of skill, styles of life, and opportunities nearby for advancement, they will be treated separately.

Only men who were 20-64 years old are included here. The laborers and service workers include farm workers and foremen, because it was impossible to separate them from other laborers within the resources of the study. However, in 1960 farm laborers and foremen comprised only 17.2 percent of all male laborers and service workers; service workers comprised 33.4 percent, a much more sizable minority.

The farmers, laborers, and service workers were in "lower" manual occupations, as distinct from the skilled and semiskilled occupations called "higher" manual because they command higher earnings and status. Above them are the nonmanual or white-collar occupations—jobs held by managers, professional workers and technicians, proprietors, clerks, salesmen, and the like. These broad categories—lower manual, higher manual, and nonmanual—will be used in this study.

Dr. Moles is a research psychologist in the Evaluation Division, Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, Office of Economic Opportunity. He was formerly a social science analyst in the Division of Intramural Research, Social and Rehabilitation Service. The views he expresses here do not necessarily represent the views of either agency.

In interpreting the data to be presented, the statistical significance of the findings will always be taken into account. The .05 level of probability is used.[4] Because of the relatively small size of the subsamples used here, some of the percentage differences must be large to be significant.

Extent of mobility

The sons of farmers and sons of laborers and service workers included in this study had about the same rates of upward mobility from their fathers' occupational locations.[5] Table 1 indicates that 66.1 percent of the former had higher manual or nonmanual level jobs, as contrasted with 72.9 percent of the latter. This difference is not statistically significant and is almost entirely accounted for by the larger proportion of laborers' sons who had moved into skilled and semiskilled occupations. A quarter of both sets of men held nonmanual white-collar jobs. Only a very small proportion of laborer's sons (4.7 percent) had gone into farming, but a fair number of farmers' sons had remained in farming occupations (20.2 percent).

Table 1. Extent of mobility for sons of lower manual workers: Two studies compared

Current occupational level	Percentage at each current job level			
	Sons of farmers		Sons of laborers and service workers	
	Present study	Blau and Duncan study[1]	Present study	Blau and Duncan study
Nonmanual	25.8	24.0	25.6	28.3
Higher manual	40.3	40.1	47.3	46.0
Laborers and service workers	13.7	18.0	22.5	23.6
Farmers	20.2	17.8	4.7	2.2
Total	100.0	[2] 100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	577	9,508	306	4,798

[1] *Calculated from 1962 population estimates for men, age 25-64, excluding those who gave no present occupation but including government protective workers among the unskilled workers. Government workers are excluded from the present study. Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan,* The American Occupational Structure *(New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.), 1967, p. 496.*

[2] *Here and later, some of the percentages will not total 100 percent because of rounding errors.*

The fact that two-thirds or more of the men had jobs above the occupational level of their fathers is good evidence that a strong majority of those whose families were poor had been able to move up to better economic circumstances. It provides little support to the proponents of the "cycle of poverty" theory, who say that being poor is passed on from generation to generation. But the quarter or more who had not moved up indicates that there is still a problem for some. Understanding more about their personal, social, and residential characteristics is a major focus of this article.

Because these are small samples of national populations, an estimate of reliability of the data is helpful in determining their significance. The data can be compared with that from a study conducted in 1962 by Blau and Duncan,[6] which collected information from a similar but much larger national sample for a study of occupational changes in a generation.[7]

Table 1 compares the mobility rates for the two studies. The great similarity between the findings of the two studies in the proportions of sons at each occupational level can be readily seen. In only one of eight comparisons do the percentages differ by as much as 3 percent. The extent of mobility out of low income occupations in the Blau and Duncan study is slightly less for farmers' sons (64.1 percent as opposed to 66.1 percent) and slightly more for sons of laborers and service workers (74.3 percent as opposed to 72.9 percent) than the present study shows, but, in general, the small size of the present sample does not appear to alter the pattern of mobility.

Antecedent variables and current job level

The topics of the questions asked the men in the present study that may bear on the job levels they had attained in 1960 are listed in table 2. The questions include information on their first jobs; their demographic, marital, and family status; the education of family members; place of residence; and changes of residence. Though for some of them some of these circumstances may have been simultaneous with or have obtained even after taking the current job—for example, a man may have married just before the study or might have moved some distance to take the job—it is assumed that for most men each is truly a condition antecedent to the job held at the time of the study and, therefore, a condition that might affect the kind of job held.

The antecedent variables listed in table 2 are not a comprehensive description of economic conditions. Though growing up during the Great Depression, place

of residence, and geographic mobility are very much related to economic conditions and opportunities for advancement available at different times and places, no more detailed analysis of economic conditions has been performed.

The correlations shown in tables 2 and 3 can range from +1.00, a perfect direct relationship, to -1.00, a perfect inverse relationship. The larger the correlation the stronger the relationship.[8]

Though most of the correlations shown in tables 2 and 3 are significant, they are mostly low and, therefore, do not account for much of the variation in job levels at the time of the study. There are, however, a few important exceptions. For farmers' sons the first job level accounts for about 29 percent of the variation in current job level (the correlation .540 squared). Those with higher manual or nonmanual first jobs were considerably more likely to have the same kinds of jobs at the time of the study than those who began working as farmers, laborers, or service workers. For them only a few other antecedent variables had correlations of .20 or larger that would account for 4 percent or more of the variance in the current job level. Men with more education or who lived in larger towns and cities, or at any time in an urban area, or in the West, were more likely to hold higher manual or nonmanual level jobs.

For the sons of laborers and service workers, again, first job level was the antecedent most highly correlated with the current job level (see table 3). Its correlation of .528 explains about 28 percent of the variance. A number of other variables are also correlated at .20 or higher for them. Starting with the highest correlation, movement out of low income occupations is related to these antecedents:

Race–being white.
Amount of education.
Growing up outside the South.
Religion–not being a Protestant.
Growing up in the Northeast.
Amount of wife's education.
Residence at some time in an urban area.
Growing up in a small town or a city.
Not living in the South.
Being married.
Amount of father's education.

Significant antecedents of current job level

A series of variables, as already shown, is associated with and also precedes the current occupational level. But some may be related only because they covary with

Table 2. Antecedent variables and current job level among sons of farmers[1]

Antecedent variables and variable categories [2]	Correlation with current job level
First job	
Higher manual or nonmanual first job (as opposed to all other jobs)	[3] .540
Education	
Amount of education (0-8, 9-11, 12, college)	[3] .206
Wife's education (0-8, 9-11, 12, college)	.027
Wife better educated than husband (as opposed to equal or less education)	[4] -.046
Education of man's father (0-8, 9+ years)	.093
Demographic factors	
Age (20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-64)	[3] -.116
Age over 16 at first job (as opposed to all others)	.084
Man was 16 during Great Depression (as opposed to all others)	[3] .147
White (as opposed to other)	[3] .151
Protestant (as opposed to all others)	[3] .103
No physical disability (as opposed to any disability)	[3] .183
Any inheritance (as opposed to none)	-.051
Family composition	
Number of brothers and sisters (0, 1, 2, 3, 4+)	.031
Married (as opposed to unmarried)	[3] .117
Age at birth of first child (under 20, 20-24, 25-29, 30+)	[4] -.023
Number of living children (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5+)	[4] -.079
Number of members of immediate family (1, 2, 3, 4, 5+)	-.016
Place of residence	
Size of place (rural isolated; rural near city; town of 2,500-9,999; city of 10,000-49,999; city of 50,000+; 12 largest metropolitan areas)	[3] .361
Region of residence	
Northeast (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] .114
North Central (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] -.148
South (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] -.112
West (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] .243
Urban childhood (as opposed to rural childhood)	[3] .174
Region of childhood	
Northeast (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] .108
North Central (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] -.120
South (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] -.018
West (as opposed to all other regions)	[3] .130
Geographic mobility	
Rural childhood and present place of residence (as opposed to any urban residence)	[3] -.438
Number of States lived in (1, 2, and so on)	[3] .148
Number of regions lived in since first regular job (1, 2, and so on)	[3] .169
Man and his father grew up in the United States (as opposed to either being immigrants)	.030

[1] *N=577 cases weighted to compensate for differential sampling ratios.*

[2] *Missing data and inappropriate responses (for example, "no wife" under "wife's education") were assigned to the category with the median of the remaining responses.*

[3] *Correlation significantly different from zero at .01 level.*

[4] *Correlation significantly different from zero at .05 level.*

other antecedent variables that may really explain their relationships.

Each of the antecedent variables with a correlation of .20 or more to the dependent variable was subjected to a partial correlation analysis. Every other antecedent with a correlation of .20 or higher was introduced as a control variable, one at a time, to determine its effect on the relationship. In addition, even though their correlations were sometimes under .20, the variables of age, race, religion, and education of the man's father were included as controls because they often affect mobility.

Table 3. Antecedent variables and current job level among sons of laborers and service workers[1]

Antecedent variables	Correlations with current job level
First job	
Higher manual or nonmanual	[2].528
Education	
Amount of education	[2].375
Wife's education	[2].285
Wife better educated than husband	[2].028
Education of man's father	[2].217
Demographic factors	
Age	[2]-.165
Age over 16 at first job	.014
Man was 16 during Great Depression	[2].013
White	[2].448
Protestant	[2].318
No physical disability	[2].142
Any inheritance	.024
Family composition	
Number of brothers and sisters	[2].023
Married	[2].241
Age at birth of first child	[2]-.138
Number of living children	[2].022
Number of members of immediate family	[2].165
Place of residence	
Size	[2].132
Region	
Northeast	[2].198
North Central	[2].031
South	[2]-.244
West	[2].081
Urban childhood	[2].271
Region of childhood	
Northeast	[2].307
North Central	[2].082
South	[2].373
West	[2].147
Geographic mobility	
Rural childhood and present place of residence	[2]-.280
Number of States lived in	-.036
Number of regions lived in since first regular job	.011
Man and his father grew up in the United States	[2]-.178

[1] *N=306 cases weighted to compensate for differential sampling ratios. The categories for each antecedent variable are shown in table 2.*

[2] *Correlation significantly different from zero at .01 level or better.*

The results of the partial correlation analyses are presented in table 4. Several antecedents remain at least moderately related to the current job level among farmers' sons, even allowing for the effect of the control variable that reduces the relationship the most. Thus, the effect of a man's first job is only slightly reduced when the variable lifetime rural residence is held constant; the variable first job still accounts for 21 percent of the variance in first job level (.456 squared). The correlation for size of place of residence continues to account for 11 percent of the variance. The absence of continuous rural residence still explains about 10 percent of the variance, even when first job level is taken into consideration.[9] But the correlation for education was reduced to almost zero when the effect of first job level was taken into account. This is an unexpected finding and quite different from Blau and Duncan's conclusion that, for all occupational groups, education plays a more important role in mobility than first job.[6]

Apparently, education helped the kind of man at the lower end of the occupational range qualify for a higher level first job, as judged by a .36 correlation between these two variables. Afterward, the farmers' sons had to depend more on previous occupational experience than education to get better jobs.

The benefits of living in the West were diminished to insignificance by the effect of lifetime rural residence. Having lived in an urban area at some time, either as an adult or as a child, was by itself a larger factor in occupational mobility than the section of the country where the man was living, judging from the relative sizes of the partial correlation coefficients.

A similar partial correlation analysis in table 4 for the sons of laborers and service workers used all antecedent variables with correlation to mobility of .20 or higher. As before, first job level is the most powerful explanatory variable, accounting for 16 percent of the variance in present job level after the effects of the strongest control variable, education, were taken into account. Race follows, accounting for 15 percent of the variance.

From first job and race, there is a sharp drop to marital status, growing up outside the South, and growing up in the Northeast: each explains from 3 to 5 percent of the variance. Marital status was little affected by any of the control variables, but the poorer first jobs of the men who grew up in the South and the better jobs of those who grew up in the Northeast account for a

considerable part of the original relationship for these regions.

The remaining antecedent variables in table 4 were reduced to the point where they accounted for little of the variance in current job level. The .38 correlation of education and mobility was reduced to only .05, after allowance was made for differences in first job level. Education and first job level are correlated at .65, as compared with .36 for farmers' sons. It appears that the level of schooling affected the beginning job level of these men even more than among rural men. But, as with farmers' sons, afterward any improvement in jobs was gained without much reference to level of education.

The important antecedents

These partial correlation analyses show that only a handful of the original antecedents explain the variations in present occupational status when only those variables continuing to explain individually at least 10 percent of the variance in present job level are included. For farmers' sons these antecedents are first job level (21 percent of the variance), size of place of residence (11 percent), and continuous rural residence (10 percent). For laborers' sons only first job level (16 percent) and race (15 percent) meet the criterion (table 4). Because of the relative importance of these antecedents, a detailed picture of their relationship to present job level is in order.

That the level of a man's first job is related to his current job level is a point several studies have documented.[10] Among the sons of laborers and farmers, as table 5 indicates, 55 and 60 percent began working in the same kinds of jobs their fathers had and fewer than one in five began as nonmanual workers.[11] A considerably larger proportion of the men had jobs at the same level as their fathers at the first job than at the current job level. And both sets were moving away from their fathers' occupations. About 60 percent of the farmers' sons had begun working as farmers or laborers, but only 35 percent of them were farmers at the time of the study. The comparable figures for laborers' sons are 55 and 27 percent (compare tables 1 and 5).

The second most powerful variable for laborers' sons, race, is widely discussed today because of the constraint it places on mobility. Negroes represented about 94 percent of all nonwhite persons in the United States in 1960 and, hence, most of the nonwhite persons in the present sample. Blau and Duncan[6] have noted that Negroes are specifically disadvantaged by having poorer parents, less formal education, and worse first jobs than white persons, but that even when these conditions are

Table 4. Effect of other variables on relationship of selected antecedents and current job level[1]

Antecedent variables	Correlations with current job level		Percent of variance explained by partial correlation
	Original correlation (r)	Partial r which minimizes r	
Sons of farmers (n=577)			
Higher manual or nonmanual first job	.540	.456 (lifetime rural resident)	20.8
Amount of education	.206	.015 (first job level)	0.0
Size of place	.361	.334 (race)	11.2
Lives in the West	.243	.151 (lifetime rural resident)	2.3
Rural childhood and present place of residence	-.438	-.310 (first job level)	9.6
Sons of service workers (n=306)			
Higher manual or nonmanual first job	.528	.403 (man's education)	16.2
Amount of education	.375	.049 (first job level)	.2
Wife's education	.285	.032 (man's education)	.1
Father's education	.217	.073 (man's education)	.5
White	.448	.391 (religion)	15.3
Protestant	-.318	-.074 (grew up in South)	.5
Married	.241	.223 (race)	5.0
Lives in the South	-.244	-.090 (religion)	.8
Urban childhood	.271	.049 (grew up in South)	.2
Grew up in the Northeast	.307	.162 (first job level)	2.6
Grew up in the South	-.373	-.210 (first job level)	4.4
Rural childhood and present place of residence	-.280	-.102 (first job level)	1.0

[1] *Only antecedents with original correlations of .20 or more to present job level are included in this analysis. The control variables used were the remaining antecedents listed here, plus the age, race, religion, and education of the man's father.*

held constant, their occupational chances are still poorer than for white persons. In the present study, controlling for education and first job level separately did not substantially reduce the correlation between race and present occupational status for laborers' sons, suggesting that race has its effect largely in still other ways.

There are fairly large differences in the racial composition of the two sets of men. Table 5 indicates that only about a 10th of the farmers' sons as compared with a quarter of the sons of laborers and service workers were not white. The difference in mobility between the two groups is also striking. For laborers' sons 80 percent of the white men but only about 50 percent of the others were mobile. For farmers' sons 68 percent of the white men but only about 50 percent of the nonwhite men were mobile. The former relationship is statistically significant, but the latter is not, due to the small sample.

Present location also had an important bearing on the job advancement of farmers' sons. The wider range of jobs available in cities provides more opportunities for higher level jobs. The distribution of the men in the study in places of different size, as shown in table 5, is similar, except that more farmers' sons still lived in rural areas not near cities, as might be expected. Almost four in 10 of the farmers' sons did not live near a city. Only 6 percent lived in the 12 largest metropolitan areas, in contrast to 19 percent of the laborers' sons.

The chances for occupational advancement were most favorable for men of both backgrounds who lived in cities of 50,000 or more, but not in the 12 largest cities. In the medium sized cities, 86-88 percent of the men were mobile, but the difference in mobility between those living in medium sized and very large cities is not significant for either set of men.

At the other extreme, men in rural areas away from cities were least mobile. All of the mobility comparisons between men who did not live near cities and men in other locations are statistically significant for farmers'

Table 5. The strongest antecedent variables and current job level

Antecedent variables	Respondents		Current occupational level among sons of laborers and service workers (percentages)				Respondents		Current occupational level among sons of farmers (percentages)			
	Percent	Number	Total	Non-manual	Higher manual	Lower manual	Percent	Number	Total	Non-manual	Higher manual	Lower manual
Total	100	306					100	577				
First job level												
Nonmanual	18	45	100	53	37	9	13	69	100	71	19	11
Higher manual	27	73	100	23	66	11	26	129	100	23	61	16
Lower manual	55	188	100	19	42	40	60	355	100	16	36	48
Race												
White	76	209	100	31	49	21	91	512	100	27	41	33
Other	24	97	100	10	41	49	9	65	100	16	36	49
Size of place												
Major city of 12 largest metropolitan areas	19	53	100	24	45	31	6	30	100	36	36	28
Cities of 50,000 and more except above	16	44	100	30	56	15	15	71	100	28	60	13
Urban places, 10,000-49,999	12	37	100	28	50	22	9	44	100	42	36	22
Urban places, 2,500-9,999	17	49	100	29	45	26	17	93	100	35	40	24
Rural, near city	13	38	100	34	45	21	15	82	100	25	54	22
Rural, not near city	23	85	100	14	45	41	39	257	100	16	29	55
Rural-urban migration												
Grew up on farm and is in rural area	17	65	100	11	46	44	45	287	100	15	36	49
Grew up on farm and is in town of 2,500+	13	40	100	20	49	31	30	156	100	33	49	19
Grew up in town and is in rural area	19	57	100	32	43	25	8	47	100	43	30	27
Grew up in town and is in town of 2,500+	51	141	100	30	48	21	15	80	100	38	38	24

sons, but for laborers' sons only the contrast between isolated rural residence and living in cities of 50,000 or more is significant. The most important factor seems to be moving away from rural, relatively isolated areas, as the mobility rates for all other groups seem to be similar.

The last variable to explain any sizable part of the variance in the present job level of farmers' sons is continuous rural residence. Blau and Duncan[6] have noted that men who were reared in larger places had better chances of occupational success, even when the effects of their education and first job were held constant. The migration data in table 5 clearly show that the men who grew up on farms and remained in rural areas were least likely to be occupationally mobile. Only 51-57 percent had moved up to better jobs, a fact that is no doubt explained in large part by the limited opportunity for any work besides farming in many rural areas. The difference in mobility between continuous rural residence and every other lifetime location is statistically significant for farmers' sons, but only the comparison with continuous urban residents is significant for laborers' sons. Among the farmers' sons who had moved to towns or cities, 82 percent were upwardly mobile, showing that most of them had not simply taken the lowest level city jobs but had, in fact, moved up to better paying and higher status jobs.

Antecedents of first job level

Because first job level was so strongly related to present occupational status for the men of both farm and other backgrounds, an examination of the variables that may explain differences in first job level should prove useful in understanding the relation. Some of the variables in this study, by assumption, occurred before the man entered the regular labor force or had a continuing effect through his life. They are own education, father's education, age—as a general indicator of the time when the man was growing up—age at first job, being 16 during the Great Depression, race, religion, number of brothers and sisters, rural or urban childhood, and region of childhood.

The correlation of each of these variables with first job level is shown in table 6. For farmers' sons, only three antecedents have correlations of .20 or more: education, age over 16 at first job, and having an urban childhood. Education accounts for 13 percent of the variance in first job level; age at first job 9 percent; and place of childhood 6 percent.

These three antecedent variables were also subjected to partial correlation analyses, and the results are shown in table 7. The correlation for education was reduced from .36 to .26 when age at first job was taken into account; and only about 7 percent of the variance in first job level was then explained by education. Only 3 percent of the variance in first job level is explained by being over 16 at the time the first job began, after taking into account the effects of education. The correlation for urban childhood was reduced proportionately the least of the three. But again, after taking into account the effects of education, only an inconsequential amount of the variance can be explained by an urban childhood.

A second analysis for antecedents of first job level among sons of laborers and service workers is also shown in table 6. For these men seven of the correlations were .20 or larger. They include education, urban childhood,

Table 6. Antecedents of first job level among sons of farmers and sons of laborers or service workers

Antecedent variables	Correlation with first job level
Sons of farmers (n=577 cases)	
Amount of education	[1] .360
Education of man's father	[1] .170
Age	-.030
Age over 16 at first job	[1] .311
Man was 16 during Great Depression	-.018
White	[2] .074
Protestant	[1] .083
Number of brothers and sisters	[1] -.130
Urban childhood	[1] .249
Region of childhood	
Northeast	[2] .069
North Central	[1] -.129
South	[1] .119
West	-.047
Man and his father grew up in United States	[1] .107
Sons of laborers or service workers (n=306 cases)	
Amount of education	[1] .651
Education of man's father	[1] .195
Age	[1] -.254
Age over 16 at first job	[1] .349
Man was 16 during Great Depression	.000
White	[1] .133
Protestant	[1] -.154
Number of brothers and sisters	[1] -.182
Urban childhood	[1] .435
Region of childhood	
Northeast	[1] .336
North Central	[1] .265
South	[1] -.395
West	.000
Man and his father grew up in United States	-.072

[1] *Correlation significantly different from zero at .01 level.*
[2] *Correlation significantly different from zero at .05 level.*

and age over 16 at first job. Other antecedents are younger age and growing up in the Northeast or North Central regions or outside the South. The proportion of the variance in first job level explained by these variables ranges from 42 percent for education and 10 percent for urban childhood to about 6 percent for age.

In the partial correlation analysis variables presented in table 7, the correlation for education was reduced only slightly by place of childhood, indicating that the other measured variables do not account in any appreciable way for the relationship between education and first job level among these men. Education, then, explained 34 percent of the variance in entry job occupational status. The remaining antecedents listed in table 7 individually explain only small parts of the variance in entry job levels. Except for education, it must be concluded that the measured variables contributed little or nothing to explaining why some laborers' sons had better first jobs than others.

Major findings and their implications

The major findings of this study are summarized below, together with their implications for social policy and programs aimed at alleviating poverty.

- About 66 percent of farmers' sons and 73 percent of the sons of laborers and service workers held jobs above the level of their fathers. A quarter of each held nonmanual white-collar jobs. Thus, a strong majority of men whose fathers had low income manual occupations had been able to move upward in the occupational structure. This finding disputes the "cycle of poverty" theory that poverty breeds poverty in the next generation.

- For both farmers' sons and laborers' sons, a man's first job was the best predictor of his present job level at the time of the study, even after taking into account the influence of other antecedent variables. The higher the level of his first full-time job, the higher the level of his current job.

It appears that many of these men were prevented from obtaining higher levels of employment by lack of relevant work experience, which in turn was dependent on level of education (see next point). Such a situation might be changed considerably by programs training men for higher level jobs. The Manpower Development and Training programs of the Labor Department, the Job Corps, the interest in "new careers for the poor," and industrial programs to hire and train "unemployables" are some of the most encouraging efforts in this direction. Yet, the work experience programs that only provide low level jobs to unemployed men do not seem to offer much prospect for improving their occupational and earning status beyond the level of the job provided.

- Education proved to be almost completely unrelated to current job level, but it was the strongest predictor of first job level, especially for laborers' sons. Apparently, the effect of education on present job level is mediated by the kind of first job obtained. Again, the relevance of job training programs becomes evident because the men with poor first jobs were likely to be poorly educated and unable to rely on formal training to help them acquire better jobs. The findings reemphasize the importance of education and of efforts to reduce the number of high school dropouts and increase the number of young persons from low income families who attend college.

But the much smaller correlation among farmers' sons suggests that education is a relatively less important determinant

Table 7. Effect of other variables on relationship between selected antecedents and first job level among sons of farmers and sons of laborers or service workers[1]

Antecedent variables	Correlations with first job level		Percent of variance explained by partial correlation
	Original correlation (r)	Partial r which minimizes r	
Sons of farmers			
Amount of education	.360	.256 (age at first job)	6.6
Age over 16 at first job	.311	.174 (education)	3.0
Urban childhood	.249	.203 (education)	4.1
Sons of laborers or service workers			
Amount of education	.651	.581 (urban childhood)	33.8
Age	-.254	.032 (education)	.1
Age over 16 at first job	.349	.160 (education)	2.6
Urban childhood	.435	.260 (grew up in South)	6.8
Grew up in the Northeast	.336	.219 (urban childhood)	4.8
Grew up in the North Central area	.265	.096 (education)	.9
Grew up in the South	-.395	-.171 (urban childhood)	2.9

[1] *Only antecedent variables with original correlations of .20 or more to first job level are included. The control variables were all other antecedent variables (see text). There were 577 sons of farmers and 306 sons of laborers and service workers.*

of their first job levels. In fact, none of their antecedent variables account for any sizable proportion of the variance in their first job levels, a fact suggesting that the important variables were not tapped for farmers' sons. Two such untapped variables that may be important for both first job and current job level are local labor market conditions and available job placement services.

● The farmers' sons who had remained in rural areas all their lives were less likely to have jobs above the lower manual level. A move to the city could have represented only a change to other low level jobs in laboring and service occupations; but, actually, over eight in 10 of those who had moved to the city held higher manual level jobs or white-collar jobs. In addition, the size of the city where the man was living at the time of the study was related to mobility.

The life of the newcomer to the city is often painted as dismal. Though the condition of some newcomers to the city, especially that of the Negro who becomes a resident of the ghetto, can be described as "dismal," migration to the city has been a major route to better jobs for most of the persons who have left rural America. To make rural areas attractive enough to hold people may be difficult, in view of the great size and isolation of many such areas, their small population density, and the restricted occupational structures, as well as the expectation of higher levels of living in the city. Nevertheless, some programs are under way to train unskilled rural workers for rural occupations. Also, encouraging rural migrants to settle in smaller towns may avoid some of the problems of life in the ghettos of our largest cities.

● White men who were sons of laborers and service workers had more often moved up occupationally than their Negro counterparts. No control variable lessened this relationship appreciably Here is another suggestion of the destructive influence of racial discrimination. These data do not provide sufficient detail to verify the possibility, but it may also be that more of the Negro fathers than the white were clustered at the bottom of the lower manual job categories in terms of income and job status so that their sons had farther to move to reach the higher manual job level. Thus, both discrimination and the lower occupational status of their fathers may have retarded the largely urban Negroes included in the study from advancing. The various civil rights laws that have been passed since 1960 should help establish fairer treatment for Negroes. In particular, fair employment practice procedures and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission requirement that Federal Government contractors maintain fair employment practices should be very helpful if enforced properly, as they bear directly on employment problems.

● The most obvious research implication is the need to replicate the major aspects of this study on a much larger national sample of wage earners, where smaller percentage differences would be more stable (that is, subject to less sampling error). Many such moderate differences have been ignored here, because they were not statistically significant. A larger sample would also permit the separate analysis of finer occupational categories such as farm laborers, other laborers, and service workers whose relatively different incomes, occupational settings, and status might produce differences in mobility. But even without further research, this study suggests that the antecedents included are important contributors to job mobility and ought to be seriously considered in programs aimed at reducing poverty.

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[1] *The latest available decennial census reports that, for 1959, farmers and farm managers had median annual earnings of only $2,169 and laborers and service workers, $2,741* (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1964). *Two-thirds of all farmers and farm managers (66.5 percent) had 1959 earnings of under $3,000 and 84.5 percent earned under $5,000* (U.S. Census of Population: *1960, vol. 1, Part I). Thus, most of them were poor or near-poor, judged by the income from their occupations, even though data on income by family size are not available. For the service workers, who fared better than the laborers, 44.4 percent earned under $3,000 and 79.3 percent under $5,000* (U.S. Census of Population: 1960), *a fact emphasizing, again, the general relationship between low occupational status and low income.*

[2] *The national sample was composed of two samples—a cross section of the noninstitutional population and a supplementary sample of low income families. This had the effect of doubling the sampling rate for low income families. To account for this difference and for differences in response rates among various subgroups of the population, each case was weighted. The result is a better estimate of the population proportions for the various attributes described. The percentages to be presented take into account this weighting. For further discussion of the sampling and weighting procedures, see James N. Morgan and others,* Income and Welfare in the United States *(New York: McGraw-Hill), 1962, pp. 449-53.*

[3] *James N. Morgan of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, furnished the data used in this study and read and commented on an earlier version of this article. Large parts of the complicated statistical analysis were ably performed by Robert Hess and Dan McConnell, both formerly on the staff of the Division of Intramural Research.*

[4] *The significance of the percentage differences to be reported is based on a table of sampling errors developed for this sample.*

[5] *The measure of current job level was the answer to this question: "What is your occupation? What sort of work do you do?*

[6] *Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan,* The American Occupational Structure *(New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.), 1967.*

[7] *They used men, age 25-64, instead of 20-64 and centered on heads of families, rather than heads of spending units. They also included government protective workers among unskilled workers, in contrast to the present study which excluded such men from the analysis because they were grouped with armed forces personnel, whose job levels can vary greatly. Nevertheless, in general, the populations are similar.*

[8] *Each correlation coefficient has been corrected for the coarse groupings necessarily involved, because categories were often collapsed to preserve cases. As an illustration, the present and first job level variables have been reduced to dichotomies: those working as farmers, laborers, and service workers as opposed to those with all higher manual and nonmanual jobs. Where a rank ordering is not clear, as with race and country of birth, the category of the variable receiving the higher score is stated first. On correcting for coarse groupings, see J. P. Guilford,* Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education *(New York: McGraw-Hill), 1956, 3d ed.*

[9] *Due to an error, rural-urban migration was not coded. Those who are* not *continuous rural residents include both migrants and residents.*

[10] *See Seymour Martin Lipset and Bendix Reinhard,* Social Mobility in Industrial Society *(Berkeley: University of California Press), 1959; also Blau and Duncan, op. cit.*

[11] *A young man's first job may be part-time and, therefore, not representative of his eventual earning potential after completing schooling. To avoid this problem, the questions used in this study were phrased as follows: "After you left school, when did you get your first full-time regular job?" and "What kind of a job was it? (What did you do?)."*

Demonstration Projects in Public Assistance
Fiscal Year 1969

During fiscal year 1969 (July 1, 1968-June 30, 1969), 80 new (26) and continuing (54) projects requiring grants from special Federal project funds were approved under the program of demonstration projects in public assistance authorized by Sec. 1115 of the Social Security Act. A total of $3,721,897 was obligated for these projects. In addition, 21 new and continuing waiver only projects were approved.

Sec. 1115 authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to State public assistance agencies to cover the cost of pilot, experimental, or demonstration projects aimed at improving the family life of public assistance recipients and moving them toward self-support. It also authorizes the Secretary to waive certain requirements, particularly that a project be statewide for a worthwhile project. The program is administered by the Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS). Since fiscal year 1963, when the program began, 346 projects have been supported.

Through the demonstration projects, State and local public assistance agencies demonstrate ways of improving services to recipients that should be incorporated into regular programs. Also, through them, new ideas are tested in social and rehabilitation services such as work incentives, income maintenance, protective services for the elderly, legal services for poor people, organized case systems, and automatic data processing systems.

The projects active in fiscal year 1969 centered on six major SRS program fields. See table 1. They were distributed among 44 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. See table 2 for the distribution of projects by SRS regions (a 10th region, with headquarters in Seattle, has since been established).

Tables 3 and 4 list all the special fund projects and the waiver only projects supported in fiscal year

Table 1. Programs active in fiscal year 1969, by primary program field

Primary program field	Number of projects			Total special Federal project funds obligated in fiscal year 1969[3]
	With grant[1]	Without grant[2]	Total	
Direct social services	49	12	61	$1,238,290
Strengthened administration; program development	16	9	25	232,085
New administrative methods	20	5	25	707,171
Manpower development and training	21	--	21	185, 325
Preparation of public assistance recipients for self-support	12	16	28	313,353
Extension of eligibility or increasing assistance payments	4	--	4	1,045,673
Total	122	42	164	$3,721,897

[1] *Special Federal project funds.*
[2] *Waiver only projects.*
[3] *Does not reflect obligations incurred in previous fiscal years. In fiscal year 1969, eight projects were extended and 21 waiver only projects were approved.*

Table 2. Projects active in fiscal year 1969, by regions

Region (headquarters)	Projects with grants[1]	Waiver only projects	Total number of projects
I (Boston)	9	6	15
II (New York)	10	6	16
III (Charlottesville)	17	9	26
IV (Atlanta)	20	3	23
V (Chicago)	7	3	10
VI (Kansas City)	7	0	7
VII (Dallas)	15	5	20
VIII (Denver)	11	6	17
IX (San Francisco)	26	4	30
Total	122	42	164

[1] *Special Federal project funds.*

1969. In addition to falling under one of the six major program fields, nine of the projects concern the Model Cities Program and seven are operating in neighborhood service centers.

Of the Model Cities projects four are testing new methods of child care, including the development of a day-care cooperative to be operated by Model Cities residents. Two are demonstrating the delivery of services to AFDC families; one is testing new methods of community services to AFDC families; one is mobilizing community resources to prevent, and reduce the number of, births out of wedlock; and one is testing services to adults through a new foster family home program.

Of the seven operating in neighborhood service centers, two are demonstrating the delivery of services to adults; and two, family planning and community organization. One is using teams of professional social and child welfare workers and subprofessional social work assistants to provide concentrated social services to AFDC families. Another is using subprofessional staff members as advocates for recipients to ensure that the public assistance agency improves services. And the seventh, which includes a work evaluation and training component, is demonstrating how public assistance is involved in a neighborhood service center.

The projects called Operation Bootstrap were either completed in fiscal year 1969 or were in their last year of operation. These projects added qualified staff members to State agencies to help them plan for new services. Most of the agencies have retained the new staff members added by the projects and all have built project activities into their continuing programs.

Several projects begun or continued in fiscal year 1969 were of national interest. Of them, seven began their last year of operation: two demonstrated protective services for adults; three developed an organized case system for public assistance; and two offered legal services to public assistance recipients. Of new projects begun in the year, two tested a new method of income maintenance and five demonstrated a public welfare data system for collecting information. The results of the three organized case systems projects will be built into the State programs when the demonstration projects are completed.

IN FISCAL YEAR 1970, which began July 1, 1969, special Federal project funds in the amount of $4 million were made available for new and continuing projects. During the year, 58 projects will be presented for continuation and about $3 million from special Federal projects funds will be required to continue them.

Table 3.—Demonstration projects approved in fiscal year 1969 under Sec. 1115, Social Security Act: new and continued projects

State and project number		Title and purpose	Amount of grant
Alabama	544	**Purchase of Care for Children in Their Own or Relatives' Homes and Emergency Services for Children in Need of Protection:** To pay for child care in the child's home or that of a relative and to provide protective services for children in emergencies.	$35,601
Alaska	230C-3*	**School Social Work Project:** To employ a school social worker in the Juneau Borough School District to provide additional school-related services to children receiving AFDC and child welfare services.	1,331
	337C-2	**Development of Social Services in Rural Alaska:** To employ native staff members to provide social services to current, former, and potential recipients of public assistance.	82,461
Arizona	229C-3	**Operation First Step:** To demonstrate the value of using AFDC mothers, trained as home management advisers, in work with caseworkers on difficult assistance cases.	28,120
	243C-3	**Special Demonstration for the Strengthening of Public Assistance Services as They Relate to Navajo Agencies:** To demonstrate the value of intensive services to Navajo families and to test the value of services by Navajo-speaking workers familiar with the needs and culture of the Navajos.	34,637

*C indicates project continuation; the number after the dash indicates the number of years since approval.

Arkansas	459C-2	**Training of the Unskilled and Socially Deprived in Cooperation With the Arkansas Rehabilitation Center:** To provide training at the Center for 50 AFDC family heads or young people from 14 counties who are unable to qualify for other training programs.	$36,062
	505	**Summer Youth Opportunity Project, 1969:** To employ some 55 AFDC young people during the summer, with special emphasis on retaining qualified young people as part-time, regular employees at the end of the project or returning them to school.	22,047
California	249C-3	**Operation Bootstrap:** To employ a public welfare housing specialist and a homemaker specialist to develop new programs for low-income families and persons.	12,480
	410C-2	**Needs of Older Children Living Away from Home:** To provide foster care for AFDC young people, age 16-20, who cannot live with their own families.	28,706
	534	**Employment and Career Opportunities for the Mexican-American Group:** To seek ways of opening up career opportunities for Mexican-Americans with as few barriers as possible.	42,460
	537	**Model State Project for Public Welfare Data Processing:** As part of the National Automated Data Processing Plan being carried out in four "profile" States, to design and put into operation the best systems structures needed to support public welfare administration at the State, local, and Federal levels.	100,000
Colorado	379C-3	**Rural Colorado Protective Services:** In accordance with the National Plan for Protective Services for Adults, to determine how successfully and adequately protective services can be provided to adults in three rural counties.	27,929
	449	**Use of Family Services Casework Staff Living in the Indigenous Area Served:** To demonstrate the value of using caseworkers who live in the same area as their caseload.	11,837
Connecticut	440C-2	**Housing Improvement Program of Hartford:** To offer a variety of specialized services to improve housing and other conditions for families receiving public assistance.	5,104
	543	**Legal Services Project:** To provide legal services for a limited number of public assistance recipients.	32,483
Delaware	194C-3	**Legal Entitlement Assurance Program:** To provide legal and social services to public assistance recipients and other low-income families in Sussex County.	9,446
District of Columbia	142C-3	**Operation Bootstrap:** To add 10 specialists to the welfare agency to improve its operation and to develop new programs for low-income persons and families.	96,931
	378C-3	**Protective Services for Adults:** In accordance with the National Plan for Protective Services for Adults, to provide protective services for older persons who are current, former, or potential public assistance recipients.	63,879
Florida	328C-2	**Homemaker Services in Nine Counties in District No. 3:** To provide homemaker services to selected recipients of old age assistance, aid to the permanently and totally disabled, and AFDC who are convalescent, chronically ill, or need improved homemaking standards and skills.	7,800
	344C-3	**Development of an Organized Case System for Public Welfare:** As part of a national plan, to develop an organized case system for diagnosis, service planning, and implementation in public assistance.	63,022
	441C-2	**Family Aide Demonstration Project:** To employ family aides to provide services to AFDC families as a complement to the services of the Jacksonville Parent-Child Center Program.	24,680
	516	**Tampa Child Care Project—A Model Cities Project:** To provide complete family day care services, using community efforts to meet the needs of working mothers.	33,510

Florida (con.)	525	**Model State Project for Public Welfare Data Processing:** See California, project No. 537.	$60,000
Georgia	366C-3	**Program to Expand Field of Recruitment for Social Welfare and Development in 15 Southern States:** To speed up the recruitment of bachelor's degree graduates for social work programs in 15 Southern States.	44,207
	547	**Georgia Consumer Affairs Project:** To provide information to welfare recipients and low-income consumers to protect their own interests and put their family money to best use.	86,151
Hawaii	469C-2	**Comprehensive Social Development Plan:** To provide a statewide, comprehensive social development plan for the improvement of social service delivery.	31,250
Indiana	550	**Gary, Indiana–Income Maintenance Experiment:** To test the effect of a graduated family-allowance income maintenance program covering a representative sample of the poor and near-poor in the Gary Model City Area.	492,986
Iowa	240C-3	**Demonstration Project in Recruitment of Personnel:** To employ a recruitment supervisor to develop a continuous statewide recruitment program for professional social workers and technical staff members.	6,492
	420C-2	**Summer Youth Opportunity Program:** To provide AFDC young people, age 14-21, with work experience to help them acquire good work habits and attitudes toward independence; encourage them to complete high school or vocational training; and provide them with the opportunity to earn and save money for their higher education.	2,050
Kentucky	417C-2	**Promotion and Development of Education for Social Welfare Personnel in Kentucky:** To increase the number of social workers with bachelor's degrees through programs to stimulate their recruitment, training, use, and retention.	958
	453C-2	**Vocational Opportunities for Public Assistance Recipients:** To help young people, especially school dropouts, from public assistance families enroll in vocational schools throughout Kentucky and find employment after training.	95,860
	462C-2	**Services in the Neighborhood–Public Assistance Involvement: Part I, Comprehensive Evaluation and Training Unit; Part II, Park-Duvalle Neighborhood Service Center:** To enable the welfare components of the Louisville Neighborhood Service Program to use new service delivery methods; develop an interagency-intercenter method of solving social problems; improve public opinion of service agencies; and determine the quality and quantity of services delivered at the Center.	2,364
Maine	373C-3	**Development of an Organized Case System for Public Welfare:** See Florida, project No. 344C-3.	5,749
	533	**Maine Model State Project for Public Welfare Data Processing:** See California, project No. 537.	36,977
Maryland	217C-3	**Community Organization and Services to Improve Family Living–A Model Cities Project:** To provide special health, housing, and family living services to large AFDC families to demonstrate that they can maintain a better way of family living when given sufficient money and social services.	128,749
	267C-2	**Administration Update:** To modernize administrative methods in 23 county social welfare offices through field reviews and analyses of their administrative and fiscal-management functions.	22,588
	406C-2	**Developing Undergraduate Education Programs for College-Level Personnel in Social Welfare in Maryland:** To increase the number and quality of social workers by developing undergraduate social welfare education programs, career lines, and recruitment programs.	6,687

Michigan	257C-3	**Neighborhood Emergency Welfare Center:** To provide social services—information and referrals, individual and family counseling, and emergency financial assistance—in neighborhood centers set up under the Community Action Against Poverty program.	$55,949
Minnesota	261C-3	**Development of an Organized Case System for Public Welfare:** See Florida, project No. 344C-3.	27,747
	446C-2	**Social Services to the Elderly in the Pilot City Area of Minneapolis; Emergency Social Services for Residents in the Pilot City Area (Neighborhood Service Project):** (1) To enable the Hennepin County Welfare Department to examine what social services can mean to the elderly; (2) to establish emergency social services in a pilot area to deliver additional social services, measure the need for emergency services, and examine the relation between emergency health services provided by the Minneapolis Department of Health and the Hennepin County Welfare Department.	54,376
	539	**Coordination of Child Care Efforts in Minneapolis Pilot City's Willard School District:** To establish a comprehensive child day-care center to demonstrate the benefits of a coordinated public and private community effort to meet day-care needs.	38,030
Mississippi	285C-2	**Defined Services Old Age Assistance in Selected Counties:** To work toward the extension of social services in OAA throughout the State by using specialists in seven selected counties.	12,993
	540	**Parent's Aid Program:** To use high school volunteers to provide after-school child care for present, former, or potential AFDC recipients.	9,963
Missouri	463C-2	**Family Education for Yeatman Neighborhood Service Center Program:** To add family life education services to the social services offered by the Yeatman Neighborhood Service Center.	4,425
Montana	272C-3	**Montana Recruitment and Orientation of Professional Staff in Public Welfare:** To establish a recruitment and training program to meet State and county manpower needs by centralizing undergraduate recruitment and by providing all workers with a bachelor's degree with social work training during their first year of employment.	36,961
	509	**Montana Welfare Legal Service Project:** To determine the feasibility of providing legal services to the poor in rural areas, particularly public assistance recipients, through circuit rider and Judicare programs.	67,976
Nevada	245C-3	**Operation Bootstrap:** To strengthen the State public welfare program by employing specialists to speed up program development in homemaker and community services for the elderly.	8,314
New Jersey	214C-3	**Operation Bootstrap:** To strengthen the State public welfare program by employing specialists in education, aging, staff development, home economics, homemaker services, recruitment, public information, and coordination of program development.	8,742
New Mexico	274C-2	**A Public Welfare Plan to Develop a Program in Community Planning:** To provide community social workers to stimulate and develop a variety of community planning programs.	29,179
	389C-2	**Bernalillo County Extended Services Project:** To employ a caseworker in each of five Office of Economic Opportunity neighborhood centers as an information and referral source for persons potentially eligible for public assistance.	21,533
	545	**Comprehensive Child Care and Development Project:** To design and test a comprehensive child care development system in the Albuquerque Model Neighborhood Area.	50,577
New York	263C-2	**Legal Services for Welfare Clients—Nassau County:** To provide legal advice and services to Nassau County public welfare recipients on a fee-for-service basis, with lawyers chosen and retained by the recipients.	45,139

New York (con.)	465C-2	**Hunts Point Neighborhood Service Program:** To experiment with the use of professional staff members and subprofessional neighborhood workers to show that the use of the latter will increase income support and social service delivery by the Department of Social Services.	$95,014
	519	**An Education Program for Supervision in Public Welfare:** To develop and conduct an educational program for supervisors who have not had professional training.	23,875
	531	**Model State Project for Public Welfare Data Processing:** See California, project No. 537.	100,000
North Carolina	535	**Mecklenburg County Extended Day Care Program for Model Cities Area:** To provide an extended day-care program for school-age children, after school and during the summer.	60,183
Oklahoma	336C-3	**State Public Welfare Consultant on Social Group Work:** To employ a consultant on social group work services; to stimulate interest in and recognition of the value of group work methods; and to train social workers to use them.	5,009
	483	**Welfare Information System:** To test the use of a computer to help social workers and rehabilitation counselors coordinate and expand their services.	200,000
	504	**Mobilization of Community Resources Toward Prevention and Reduction of Births Out of Wedlock and Otherwise Strengthen Family Life–Model Cities Project:** To develop a model for a program using community resources to attack the causes of parenthood out of wedlock.	47,790
Oregon	234C-3	**Group Work Services:** To employ a State consultant on group work methods to help counties develop group services, train State staff members in group methods, supervise a county demonstration of group services, and develop guidelines.	14,852
	527	**Work Evaluation Center Project:** To combine the resources of three State agencies to serve clients of all three quickly and without duplication.	114,679
	541	**Day Care Services for Self-Help Industries in Columbia County:** To meet family day care needs for former and potential AFDC recipients so that they may continue in their jobs.	38,147
Tennessee	536	**Smithville-Dekalb County Model Cities Program, Homemaker Services:** To determine the cost and effectiveness of homemaker services in a rural area with widely scattered recipients.	11,617
Texas	418C-2	**Crossroads Community Center-Community Social Services Planner (Neighborhood Service Center Project):** To employ a community social service planner in a Dallas community center to establish effective communication between the public welfare agency and the center.	4,016
	419C-2	**The Development of Manpower Resources for Public Welfare Through Recruitment Activities and Development of Undergraduate Social Work Education Programs:** To increase substantially the number of qualified social workers through broad recruitment and education programs.	18,121
Utah	246C-3	**Operation Bootstrap:** To strengthen the State public welfare program by employing a project director and specialists in community planning, mental retardation, public information, group work, recruitment for special resources, and volunteer services.	33,979
	286C-2	**Tele-lecture as a Teaching Medium:** To experiment with tele-lecture as a medium for training public welfare employees.	2,158
	512	**A Systems Approach to Manpower:** To develop and test a different staffing pattern to increase and improve services.	26,661

Vermont	282C-2	**Welfare Administration Systems Analysis:** To employ a Welfare Administration Systems Analyst to study present administrative procedures, recommend changes, and evaluate the results.	$5,802
	427C-2	**Social Welfare Recruitment Specialist:** To employ a recruitment specialist to improve the quality and increase the number of social workers in the State.	2,090
Virginia	283C-2	**Services to Clients in Groups:** To demonstrate the use of the group method by setting up a special unit of trained group workers to provide group services to clients referred by other caseworkers.	17,452
	289C-2	**Clerical Aides in Initial Determination of Eligibility:** To determine whether clerical aides of substantially less education than caseworkers can adequately determine initial eligibility for public assistance.	48,113
	377C-2	**Social Services Mobile Office Unit:** To bring welfare services to areas of the city of Chesapeake that are distant from the main welfare office or have a high incidence of social problems.	5,923
	382C-2	**Baccalaureate Manpower Development Program:** To increase substantially the number and quality of social workers by extending and improving undergraduate social welfare education.	3,103
Washington	383	**Foster Family Homes for Adults:** To experiment with foster family homes and medical services for adults who need a place to live and receive care away from home but who do not need nursing home care.	5,700
	488	**Evaluation and Inventory Project:** To provide a multidisciplinary team to evaluate the rehabilitation potential of a group of public assistance recipients and provide the services needed.	9,145
	521	**Seattle–Income Maintenance Experiment:** To test the effect of a graduated income maintenance program that includes work incentives.	501,000
West Virginia	400/ 401C-2	**Promotion and Development of Education for Social Welfare Personnel and Recruitment of Social Welfare Personnel:** To increase substantially the number and quality of social workers by extending and improving undergraduate social welfare education and by a broad recruitment program.	12,681
Wisconsin	139C-3	**New Approaches in Use of Volunteer Services:** To employ a volunteer services consultant and an assistant to develop, direct, and coordinate volunteer services and special projects.	7,445
	235C-3	**Winnebago County Foster Family Care:** To demonstrate the value of a foster family care program for adult welfare recipients, including persons released from county and State mental hospitals.	11,844

Table 4.–Demonstration projects approved in fiscal year 1969 requiring waiver of plan requirements and not involving a special Federal fund grant (new projects and continuations)

State and project number		Title and purpose
California	371C-2	**An Approach to Manpower Utilization by Means of Functional Specialization of Public Welfare Staff:** To test the extension of simplified eligibility determination, as now used for old-age assistance, to other categories of aid in Marin and Santa Clara Counties.[1]
Colorado	411	**Laradon Hall Mental Retardation Training Project:** To train mentally retarded young adults in living and personal adjustment and in good work habits.[1]
	435	**Adult Family Foster Care:** To test adult family care in three widely different Colorado counties.

District of Columbia	396C-2	**Pride, Inc.:** To allow about 1,050 AFDC young people, age 14-25, to keep their earnings in a work program under a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor. [1] [2]
	475	**Model School Planning Conference, D.C.:** To conduct a model experiment to show urban excellence in education; to revive citizen interest in school problems and programs; and to work toward cooperative planning by school and community. [1] [2]
Florida	501	**Operation Hope:** To test alternative forms of care in nursing homes, homes for the aged, foster homes, boarding homes, and independent living arrangements for geriatric patients who do not need care in specialized psychiatric facilities. [1]
Illinois	408C-2	**Social Services to Former and Potential Recipients:** To show the value of social services to former and potential public assistance applicants and recipients as a basis for planning statewide services. [1]
Kentucky	171C-4	**Higher Education Project:** To employ six counselors to give aid and practical guidance to poor, gifted young people planning to enroll in Kentucky colleges. [2]
Louisiana	494	**Implementation of a Single Organizational Unit for AFDC Child Welfare Programs and Separation of Services and Eligibility at the Local Level in the AFDC Category:** To demonstrate in one area of the State the mandatory provisions of the 1967 Social Security amendments relating to child welfare and aid to families with dependent children. [1]
	496	**Declaration Method of Establishing Eligibility in AFDC:** To test the declaration method for determining eligibility in certain parts of the State. [1]
Massachusetts	482	**Simplification of Evaluating Life Insurance as a Resource in Aid to the Blind:** To evaluate life insurance as a resource for recipients of or applicants for aid to the blind. [2]
New York	480	**Simplified Payment System:** To test the feasibility of a series of centrally authorized grants as an innovation in the system of making special grants. [1]
	492	**Training and Earned Income Incentive:** To demonstrate that an appropriate exemption of income will encourage AFDC recipients to participate in vocational training leading to gainful employment. [1]
North Carolina	040C-4	**Demonstration in Community Organization:** To employ a full-time community services supervisor in Guilford County to coordinate efforts between the public welfare agency and other social agencies, to supervise volunteer projects, and to deepen community understanding of public welfare objectives. [1]
	484	**Roanoke-Chowan Alcohol Information and Service Center:** To establish an alcohol information center to help alcholics and their families and to provide community education. [1]
	511	**Mecklenburg County Department of Public Welfare Agency Operated Child Development-Day Care Centers:** To furnish day care services to actual, former, and potential AFDC recipients, including the families of unemployed fathers, and to liberalize State plan definitions of former and potential applicants and recipients. [1]
Rhode Island	487	**Retention of Increased Insurance Assets:** To determine the impact on the public assistance caseload of an increase in retainable assets, specifically an increase in the face value of retainable insurance. [1] [2]
Texas	470C-2	**AFDC Day Care Program, Harris County, Texas:** To continue and expand day care and related services for former, present, and potential AFDC applicants and recipients. [1]
	503	**AFDC Foster Care Program:** To demonstrate the value of foster care for AFDC children living in an unsatisfactory home environment and to work toward improving the child's home. [1]
Vermont	507	**Simplified Consideration of Life Insurance as a Resource:** To demonstrate that life insurance is generally not a satisfactory resource for meeting current need and to simplify need determination by eliminating consideration of its cash value. [1] [2]
Wisconsin	275C-2	**Wisconsin Self-Declaration Project:** To demonstrate the effective use of a "declaration form" to determine eligibility for financial assistance. [1]

[1] Waiver of requirement that the program operate in all parts of the State.
[2] Waiver of requirement that all income be considered in determining eligibility for public assistance.

Public Assistance Statistics, December 1969

Comparisons with December 1968

MORE THAN 11.1 million persons received money payments under five public assistance programs in December 1969, a rise of more than 400,000 since October (*Welfare in Review,* March-April 1970, p. 30). Total payments for these five programs—old-age assistance (OAA), aid to the blind (AB), aid to the permanently and totally disabled (APTD), aid to families with dependent children (AFDC), and general assistance (GA)—and for vendor payments for medical care amounted to $1,018 million, about the same as in the two previous months. Table 1 shows the changes in the number of recipients and the amounts expended in November and December, as compared with October.

Reasons for continued rise

The continued rise in the number of persons receiving assistance is due to many conditions operating singly and together: wider knowledge about the availability of assistance, changes in attitude toward receiving assistance, court decisions, changes in Federal legislative requirements, and rising prices. The court decisions have led to the liberalization of eligibility requirements, especially in AFDC. In addition, the Federal requirement that States bring their AFDC assistance standards up to date to meet changes in the Consumer Price Index, coupled with the continued rise in

Table 1. Changes in public assistance: Recipients, and money payments per recipient, October-December 1969

Program	October	November	December
Recipients of money payments			
Total (persons)	10,716,400	10,861,400	11,131,500
Old-age assistance	2,063,000	2,071,000	2,078,000
Aid to the blind	80,400	80,400	80,400
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	785,000	793,000	803,000
Aid to families with dependent children			
Families	1,786,000	1,823,000	1,875,000
Recipients	6,966,000	7,094,000	7,313,000
Children	5,179,000	5,269,000	5,413,000
General assistance			
Cases	407,000	406,000	422,000
Recipients	822,000	823,000	857,000
Assistance payments (in 000's)			
Total	$1,049,214	$1,018,608	$1,018,286
Money payments, total	584,851	589,034	606,961
Old-age assistance	151,248	152,071	153,602
Aid to the blind	7,876	7,898	7,956
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	70,300	70,735	72,407
Aid to families with dependent children	315,394	317,726	330,726
General assistance	40,033	40,604	42,883
Medical assistance, total	431,143	406,094	387,659
Federally aided	424,711	400,646	380,919
General assistance	6,432	5,448	6,740
Emergency assistance	1,174	1,239	899
Payments to intermediate care facilities	22,046	22,241	22,767
Money payments per recipient			
Old-age assistance	$73.30	$73.40	$73.95
Aid to the blind	97.95	98.25	98.75
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	89.50	89.15	90.20
Aid to families with dependent children			
Average per family	176.60	174.30	176.05
Average per recipient	45.30	44.80	45.15
General assistance			
Average per case	98.35	100.00	101.65
Average per recipient	48.65	49.30	50.05

living costs, undoubtedly has contributed to the rise in the number of recipients. Although the Federal requirement relates only to AFDC, many States also raised their assistance standards in the other programs. And as a result of Federal legislation, States are required to exempt specified amounts of earnings of persons receiving AFDC.[1] Consequently, families whose assistance payments would have been discontinued when their wage earners got jobs or higher pay were still eligible for assistance, though for smaller payments.

Comparisons with 1968

In December 1969 about 1.4 million additional persons received public assistance than in December 1968. About two-thirds of the increase occurred between June and December. In only one program—AB—was there a decrease. About two of every three recipients were receiving AFDC and accounted for nine-tenths of the increase. Vendor payments for intermediate care facilities were made for 92,200 recipients in December 1969, a substantial increase over the number for December 1968, when payments were made for 13,600.

Total assistance expenditures, including vendor payments for medical care, amounted to $11.6 billion in 1969, about $1.8 billion more than in 1968. Maintenance assistance accounted for two-thirds of the increase; medical assistance for a third. About a fourth of the increases for maintenance assistance and half of those for medical assistance were needed to keep pace with rising costs, as measured by the Consumer Price Index. Larger expenditures for AFDC accounted for two-fifths of the annual increase; those for medical assistance (primarily Medicaid) for almost a third.

The annual increases, by program, and the proportion of the total increases attributable to each program are shown in table 2.

Changes in the number of recipients and in money payments from 1968 include these:

OAA: The 2.1 million OAA recipients in December 1969 represent an increase of 2.4 percent over December 1968. For the first year since 1950, the number of OAA recipients did not decrease. Thirty-five States aided more persons in December 1969 than a year earlier, including eight in which the increases were 10 percent or more. Nationally, the average money payment per recipient was $74 in December 1969—$4 more than a year earlier.

AB: The number of AB recipients decreased by 0.5 percent, to a total of 80,300. The average payment was $99 in December 1969, about $7 more than in December 1968.

APTD: There were about 803,000 APTD recipients in December 1969—14.3 percent more than in December 1968. All but three of the 53 jurisdictions in the programs reported increases. The average payment was $90, or $7 more than in December 1968.

AFDC: About 7.3 million persons received AFDC in December 1969, about a fifth more than in December 1968. The average payment per recipient was $45, an increase of $3 from December 1968. The number of families aided because a parent was unemployed was about a fifth higher in December 1969 than a year earlier, even though 10 of the 22 States with this program reported aiding fewer families than the year before. Unemployment rates were about the same in the 2 years.

Table 2. Annual increase and percent of increase, by program, 1969 over 1968

Program	Increases in 1969 over 1968		Percent of total increase by program
	Amount (In millions)	Percent	
Total increase	$1,757.5	17.9	100.0
Medical assistance	570.4	13.9	32.5
Maintenance assistance	1,187.1	20.7	67.5
Money payments	975.1	17.1	55.5
OAA	78.1	4.7	4.4
AB	3.3	3.7	.2
APTD	129.6	19.7	7.4
AFDC	715.0	25.1	40.7
GA	49.1	11.6	2.8
Intermediate care facilities	205.3	[1]	11.7
Emergency assistance	6.7	[2]	.4

[1] *Increase of more than 1,000 percent not shown.*
[2] *No payments reported in 1968.*

Material in this article is based on *NCSS Report A-2 (11/69)* and *NCSS Report A-2 (12/69)*. Copies of these reports, which contain detailed information about the public assistance programs, are available from the National Center for Social Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201.

[1] *All earnings of children under 14 years of age; all earnings of children up to 21 years who are regularly attending school; and $30 plus a third of the balance of the gross monthly earnings of all other persons in the AFDC assistance group.*

Racial Equality in Health and Welfare Agencies

New Orleans, 1963-68

WE ARE ALL FAMILIAR with the saying, "You can't legislate morality," meaning that mere legislation does not elevate man's moral principles. A 5-year study of the health and welfare agencies of Greater New Orleans (Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Bernard Parishes) indicates, however, that significant positive advances toward social justice—in this case, racial justice—can and do occur in a climate of facilitating legislation and community desire to bring about change.

The two-part study, conducted by the Research Department of the Social Welfare Planning Council of New Orleans, was designed to chart progress toward racial equality in the formal practices and policies of the health and welfare agencies of Greater New Orleans. Data were collected in 1963, without foreknowledge that the pending Civil Rights Act would pass, and in 1968, 5 years after the first survey and 4 years after the passage of the Act.

These circumstances provided an excellent opportunity for measuring the influence of major social legislation on the racial patterns, policies, and practices of a complex health and welfare agency system in a Southern metropolitan area, both before and after its passage. They also provided a direct empirical index to change in the practices and policies of segregated social institutions over a short span of time.

Study method

In the South in 1963, unrest and uncertainty about desegregation were evident on many fronts. Many health and welfare agencies of New Orleans turned to the Planning Council to have this uneasiness defined and clarified and to learn what other agencies were planning to do about desegregation, primarily as a result of moral persuasion. To meet their requests, the Council conducted the 1963 survey, designed to gather data for distribution to all community agencies so that each agency board could decide, in the light of community change, its racial policies and practices.

In both surveys the Council sought to obtain detailed and comparable information about opportunities available without respect to race in three major policy fields: receiving services (client eligibility criteria), rendering service (staff eligibility criteria), and determining service (committee and board eligibility criteria). The study also sought to determine what official action agencies and boards had taken to move toward full racial justice through changes in written policy and practice.

In 1963, 114 health and welfare agencies, both public—State, parish (county), and metropolitan—and private, were sent a questionnaire and asked to participate anonymously in the study. Anonymity offered assurance that the data would be reliable and valid, and agency identification was not necessary to insure the relevance and generality of the findings through statistical analysis. A total of 86, or 74 percent, responded. In 1968, the sample size was increased to 144, of which 87, or 61 percent, responded. Anonymity was again maintained.

Before the data from the two surveys were compared, three descriptive variables basically concerned with accountability, sources of funds, and degree of autonomy were selected to determine whether they were comparable. This test found a slight but not statistically significant difference in the number reporting for the two periods in private agencies (67 percent in 1963, 54 percent in 1968), in public agencies (33 percent in 1963, 46 percent in 1968), and in agencies who were members of the city's United Fund (42 percent in 1963, 44 percent in 1968). Based on these indicators, the two study samples were considered comparable.

To determine the degree of progress the health and welfare agencies had attained in 5 years, a rating system was developed for 25 critical aspects of racial discrimination. See table.

Findings

The study found that a statistically significant movement had been made toward the desegregation of policies and practices in the health and welfare agencies of Greater New Orleans. This was true generally but not for all aspects.

When the first survey was made, the position of the agencies on racial equality, as manifested in their statements of official racial policies and

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accepted racial practices, was at best undefined. Written policies promoting equality were few; and agencies in general were uncommitted, even though there were no major legal deterrents to integration and in spite of strong moral imperative for full and speedy implementation of racial justice in the health and welfare fields.

The 1963 survey found a state of inertia. Though individual agencies had moved toward racial justice, there was little evidence that agencies were committed to full racial equality. Community apathy and, in many cases, subtle to obvious resistance to change were clearly evident. In the main, community health and welfare agencies were not moving toward nor making much of an effort to start moving toward integration. The attitude was "Let's wait and see."

An examination of the findings for 1968 (see table) shows that progress had been made in the 5 years and that the most progress was in the limiting of overt discriminatory practices against Negroes. Next came increased opportunities for Negroes to obtain better jobs, especially professional jobs, in social agencies. The aspect of influencing agency policy showed the least amount of progress. Negroes were still being denied even a moderate degree of participation in critical policymaking.

Twenty-five critical aspects of racial discrimination reported by health and welfare agencies in Metropolitan New Orleans, 1963 and 1968

Agency policy	Percentage of agencies reporting positive responses		
	1968 (n=87)	1963 (n=86)	5-year difference (1968-1963)
1. Maintains no separate place for service to Negroes	90	45	[1]45
2. Maintains no separate restrooms for Negroes	90	35	55
3. Maintains no separate time for service for Negroes	90	43	47
4. Maintains no separate waiting room for Negroes	90	49	41
5. Maintains no separate quotas for service for Negroes	89	49	40
6. Maintains no separate waiting room for Negroes	89	46	43
7. Will employ Negro clerical workers	85	37	48
8. Will employ Negro professional workers	83	43	40
9. Will employ Negro custodial workers	72	57	15
10. Employs Negro custodial workers	70	62	8
11. Employs Negro clerical workers	70	33	37
12. Negroes are invited to agency public meetings	64	40	24
13. In effect, has no discrimination in employment	53	43	10
14. In effect, has no discrimination in agency services	53	44	9
15. Written policy explicitly prohibits discrimination in agency services	52	20	32
16. Employs Negro professional persons	51	30	21
17. Written policy explicitly prohibits discrimination in employment	43	27	16
18. Negroes are serving on agency committees	41	30	11
19. In effect, has no type of discrimination in agency public meetings	40	31	9
20. In effect, has no discrimination in board service for Negroes	37	26	9
21. In effect, has no discrimination in service on agency committees	36	29	7
22. Negroes are serving on board	33	21	12
23. Written policy explicitly prohibits discrimination in agency board service	31	16	15
24. Written policy explicitly prohibits discrimination in agency public meetings	31	15	16
25. Written policy explicitly prohibits discrimination in agency committee composition	26	12	14

[1] *All percentage differences are statistically significant at, at least, the .01 > P. < .15 level.*

Conclusions

Four years after the Civil Rights Act became law, the health and welfare agencies of Greater New Orleans had made progress in many of the 25 critical aspects of racial discrimination included in the study. In no respect, however, was discrimination wiped out. The 90 percent elimination of overt discrimination—an almost doubling of the amount 5 years earlier—is certainly an indication of progress. But in several respects, especially where policymaking is concerned, the health and welfare agencies of this Deep South city still had far to go to attain racial equality.

The study shows that, though much remains to be done before the health and welfare agencies of the Greater New Orleans Area will be serving Negroes as well as they serve white persons, progressive forces are at work to right the imbalance. The progress may be hastened by the growing, articulate leadership Negroes are exerting.

JOHN J. STRETCH

Promoting the Welfare of the Smith Family in 1970

The Need for Social Planning

Theory and Practice of Social Planning, Alfred J. Kahn, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N.Y., 1969, 348 pp., $8.75.

Studies in Social Policy and Planning, Alfred J. Kahn, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, N. Y., 1969, 326 pp., $8.75.

HOW THE PEOPLE of the United States move from promoting "the general Welfare," as stated in the preamble of the U.S. Constitution, to promoting the welfare of John Smith and his family in Middleton, Ind., in their time of need in 1970 is the real subject of these two volumes. Kahn argues that the organization of service programs standing ready to help Smith and his family—whether it be through a government agency or through the private sector—requires rational thought, organization and action, and intelligent use of resources. These are the bulwarks of effective and timely service and the bases for social planning. In his words, "fact-finding, scientific perspective, and hard analysis, when combined with conscious efforts to consider how the values and preferences of the various publics concerned may be affected and when subjected to interest-group pressures and democratic decision-making, may place us somewhat closer to where we want to be in coping with social aspects of our complex environment."

In the first of the two volumes, *Theory and Practice of Social Planning*, Kahn presents a comprehensive discussion of social planning in the United States, tracing the steps, or "anchor points," in planning, from the definition of the task or problem, through the formulation of policy and plans, to the programming of the action necessary to carry out policies and, finally and critically, evaluating the results to assess progress in resolving the task or problem. He says this process may be depicted in linear formation or in the shape of interlocking spirals or circles. In either conceptual model, the steps in the planning process are entirely interdependent, each step influencing the others throughout the process, and changes in one requiring changes in the others. Ability to manipulate the social planning process to reach social goals and objectives is reflected by the facility to move creatively and flexibly in defining the task, formulating policy and drawing up plans, programming action, and evaluating results.

This volume is given to an exposition of the social planning process. Kahn dwells at length and persuasively on the process, using frequent, pertinent, and current illustrations on each "anchor point," their social bases, parameters, alternative methods, and applications. Social scientists of practically every description will identify with his examples and references, running, as they do, from economic planning to the Job Corps; from social systems to the organization of public welfare and child welfare services; from cost-benefit analysis to child guidance clinics. Psychologists, sociologists, economists, urbanists, social welfare researchers, social agency administrators, social workers, political scientists, and systems analysts, to name but a few, will find here a reflection of their interest in and concern for social planning.

Kahn is also considerably concerned with the limitations of social planning in a democracy and cautions his fellow Americans at every stage. He wisely says that "planning is not always appropriate, and some of the most telling attacks on planning actually deal with circumstances in which planning should not have been proposed." He suggests as examples unexpected and catastrophic events and the social responses to them and the individual right to privacy, which precludes social planning, because it makes gathering information on a social scale impossible, unethical, or illegal. He mentions, too, the limits of our resources, knowledge, and experience with projecting social needs as constraining forces in social planning. (Social researchers will be the first to acknowledge that he is right.) Kahn does not hold back in presenting the pros and cons and citing the substantial body of authoritative opinion cautioning against the social planning process as the primary instrument for shaping American society. He is consistently optimistic, however, in his prognosis for social planning.

The second volume, *Studies in Social Policy and Planning*, offers six case studies in social planning, each covering a field dealt with widely in professional journals *and* newspapers: the antipoverty program, juvenile delinquency, income security, the urban crisis and model cities, the comprehensive mental health program, and the local social service delivery system. (He does not limit himself to these as they obtain in the United States but gives a chapter to the need for social planning in the

developing countries of the world). He offers more than a historic recapitulation of the genesis, activities, and developments of each program. He uses them to illustrate the social planning process in action, recounting their successes, failures, and the role of serendipity in shaping social programs. He uses the War on Poverty as an example of "incrementalism" wherein "policies and programs do grow, respond to needs, and find their way in the political market places. They are not without their components of rationality. Formal and informal feedback occasionally are extremely potent." Also, "one sees here the limitations of bargaining, political strategy, and disjointed interventions."

He describes the use of the comprehensive plan mechanism in the juvenile delinquency program to show the problem-oriented method of planning, that is, the conceptualization and organization of a viable pattern of services to ameliorate a social problem. In reviewing the income security problem facing the Nation, he describes the economic and social issues and the background and alternatives, including the negative income tax and children's allowances, that led to President Nixon's proposed Family Assistance Plan and the current legislative debate on the subject. Although his discussion predates these developments, it nevertheless points up the inherent difficulty often experienced in defining a social problem or issue clearly and disparately so that the alternative solutions can be studied and measured, the social values weighed, and the administrative policies worked out effectively.

In his chapter on the Model Cities Program, Kahn gives another example of this difficulty. Research analysts, social planners, and other participants in that program will find that Kahn confirms what they suspect—the social policies involved in their program are complex—in his coverage of urban problems and social planning.

The social sciences are full of overlapping, interlocking fields; each social scientist seems to be concerned with the work of all other social scientists to a greater or lesser degree, depending at any given time on the breadth or narrowness of his work. Kahn gives a good illustration of this in social planning in a chapter on the comprehensive mental health program. He describes the difficult task facing the National Institute of Mental Health and policymakers and legislators in fixing the boundaries of the programs as the basis for a national plan. As he points out, mental health and mental illness are not limited to a single population group but are of immediate concern, usually critically, to most social, health, rehabilitation, manpower, and correctional agencies. Where draw the line for a comprehensive program? Kahn discusses this near dilemma and the search for a solution as they pertain to the development of a broad social plan. Moreover, he draws on the comprehensive mental health program to describe the importance of intergovernmental relations in social planning.

His discussion of intergovernmental relations is timely, for the subject has been in the forefront of the activities of the Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations since its inception in 1959, and President Nixon has established several special task forces to seek ways and means to improve the planning process in domestic programs through an integrated system of planning requirements at all levels of government. The U.S. Senate now has a bill before it to create a council of social advisers comparable to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. One duty of the new council would be to prepare an annual report on social problems in the country; another would be to organize a joint Congressional committee on the social report. State and local programs are expressly mentioned in the bill for inclusion. This pending legislation is an indicator of the rapid growth of interest in including rational planning and evaluation in social programs nationally and at State and local levels alike.

Kahn says that the step following development of a social plan is the programming of actions to implement the plan: that is, deciding what needs to be done, by whom, in what sequence, covering what period of time, and with what expected results. He introduces us to the organizational and operational issues to be confronted in translating policy into action in the delivery of local social services. As in the other case studies, he supplies the historical background and describes the needs and the many limitations that may proscribe the U.S. social service system, particularly in child welfare and family social services. He is especially telling in describing the growth of the decentralization movement toward neighborhood services and the various methods of service delivery. And he says that the proliferation of government programs, sources of funds, voluntary social agencies, social organizations, and problem definition of the people to be served argue for comprehensive social planning yet impose impediments that may take years to remove.

On the whole, Kahn gives us a useful reference work. His scholarship, particularly his organization of materials, should help social science students, researchers, and practitioners alike understand how the social planning process functions—its

components, applications, limitations. His concern for reconciling planning with democratic principles, the political process, administrative and bureaucratic realities, and social concepts makes these two volumes an inestimable guide for solving today's social problems, as well as future problems, when solutions may be sought in other directions, probably in a different social and economic milieu.

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Publications for which prices are listed may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (25 percent discount on orders of 100 or more). Payment must accompany order. Single copies of unpriced publications are available from the issuing agency.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Grants: Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968. Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. 1970, 32 pp. Lists and describes grants to States made under Title I of the Act (Planning, Prevention, Rehabilitation); Title II (Training); and Title III (Improved Techniques and Practices–Technical Assistance). SRS-JD-123 1970.

Legal bibliography for juvenile and family courts, supplement 3 (1969). Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. 36 pp., 45 cents.

Medicaid and other medical care financed from public assistance funds: selected statistics, 1951-1969, by Dorothy B. West, Harold Coleman, and Gloyd Robison. National Center for Social Statistics. 1970, 75 pp. Contains text, charts, and tables on amounts and types of assistance, numbers of recipients, and other aspects of medical care, nationally and by States.

Medicare 1966: health insurance for the aged. The three volumes listed below are the first in a series being prepared by the Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration. Other sections will include Inpatient hospital care, Outpatient hospital services, Home health services, Physicians' and other medical services, Medical history, and Summary (Section 1).

Section 2. **Enrollment: Persons enrolled in the health insurance program.** 1970, xvi, 121 pp., $1.25.

Section 3. **Participating providers.** 3.1: **Participating hospitals.** 1970, xxv, 67 pp., $1. 3.2: **Participating home health agencies.** 1970, xix, 17 pp., 40 cents.

Model state housing societies law, by Jan Krasnowiecki. 1970, 62 pp., 35 cents. Contains legal research and possible instruments that private groups can use for community organization, environmental health planning, housing, and hygiene. U.S. Public Health Service publication No. 2025.

Other Government Agencies

Manpower report of the President: a report on manpower requirements, resources, utilization, and training. U.S. Department of Labor. Transmitted to the Congress March 1970. 329 pp., $2.50. Covers manpower and economic policy, employment and unemployment, new developments in manpower programs, equal employment opportunity, employment and poverty, income maintenance and work incentives, and manpower demand and supply in the professions, including professional education and employment among low income groups, Negroes, and women.

Non-Government

Direct inquiries and orders to the publisher or issuing agency.

Business decisions and technological change, by John Diebold. Praeger, Inc., 111 4th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003. 1970, 268 pp., $10. Examines and presents case studies on the effect of the computer on business and government.

Counting people: the census in history, by Hyman Alterman. Harcourt, Brace, and World, 757 3d Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017. 1969, 368 pp., $6.95. Discusses who has (and has not) been counted over the ages; how and why they have been counted; and the social, economic, and political effects of a census.

Demography, by Peter R. Cox. 4th ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England. 1970, 470 pp., $9.50. Contains new material on economics, medicine, sociology, social administration, and mathematical techniques.

Economics and urban problems: diagnoses and prescriptions, by Dick Netzer. Basic Books, 404 Park Ave. So., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1970, 213 pp., $5.95. Examines the problems of poverty, housing, land use, and transportation.

The economics of collective action, by John R. Commons; Kenneth H. Parsons, ed. University of Wisconsin Press, Box

1379, Madison, Wis. 53701. 1970, 382 pp., $6.50. A re-issuance of a book by the noted economist, first published posthumously in 1950.

Ethnic minorities in social work education, Carl Scott, ed. Council on Social Work Education, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. 1970, 89 pp., $3. Contains 10 articles on attracting and recruiting minority group students to social work education, present enrollment in schools of social work, curriculum relating to minorities, and the need for curriculum revision.

Exemplars of social research, Phillip Fellin and others, eds. F. E. Peacock Publications, 401 W. Irving Park Road, Itasca, Ill. 60143. 1969, 377 pp., $7. Presents guidelines for assessing social research and describes ways to develop skill in evaluation.

Existentialism and casework, by Kirk A. Bradford. Exposition Press, 50 Jericho Turnpike, Jericho, N.Y. 11753. 1969, 82 pp., $4.50. Discusses the relationship between "social casework theory and the philosophy and psychotherapy of existentialism."

Foster care in question: a national reassessment by twenty-one experts, Helen D. Stone, ed. Child Welfare League of America, 44 E. 23d St., New York, N.Y. 10010. 1970, 275 pp., $4.20. Contains papers prepared for the Child Welfare League's Foster Care Project, 1966-67; "a kind of primer on foster care. . .that will provide a base from which new programs, strategies, and philosophies. . .will be generated."

Hard times: an oral history of the Great Depression, by Studs Terkel. Pantheon Books, 437 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. 1970, 462 pp., $8.95. Contains interviews with people from all walks of life, recalling and reflecting on the Depression of the thirties.

Helping and human relations: a primer for lay and professional helpers, by Robert R. Carkhuff. 2 vols. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 383 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017. 1969; vol. 1, $7.50; vol. 2, $7.95. Presents a comprehensive model on the right, the role, and the responsibilities of the helper. Vol 1: Selection and training; vol. 2: Practice and research.

The influence of Federal grants: assistance in Massachusetts, by Martha Derthick. Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. 1970, 285 pp., $8.50. Discusses what Federal administrators hoped to achieve, their methods, and the effect of their program.

Innovations in teaching social work practice, Lillian Ripple, ed. Council on Social Work Education, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. 1970, 89 pp., $3. Contains papers presented at the Workshop on Current Directions in the Teaching of Methods of Social Work Practice, sponsored by the CSWE and the School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, in March 1969.

Kids and cops: a study in mutual hostility, by Donald H. Bouma. William B. Eerdmans, 255 Jefferson Ave., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49502. 1969, 167 pp., $4.95. Reports on a study of the attitudes of young people and the police toward each other, especially in the inner city.

Medicare, by Robert J. Myers. Richard D. Irwin, Inc., (for the McCahan Foundation), 1818 Ridge Rd., Homewood, Ill. 60430. 1970, 352 pp., $9.50. Traces the development of medicare and describes the medicaid program, related developments, and possible trends.

Mothers in poverty: a study of fatherless families, by Louis Kriesberg. Aldine Publishing Co., 320 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill. 60606. 1970, 356 pp., $9.75. Tries to explain "the way of life of poor people and the possible role their way of life plays in the inter-generational transmission of poverty."

One year later: an assessment of the Nation's response to the crisis described by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, prepared by Urban America, Inc., and the Urban Coalition. Praeger, Inc., 111 4th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003. 1969, 122 pp., $3.95. Describes public and private efforts to deal with poverty, education, and environment and discusses civil disturbances, crime, attitudes of Negroes and authorities, and race relationships.

Paying the doctor: systems of remuneration and their effects, by William A. Glaser. Johns Hopkins Press, Homewood Campus, Baltimore, Md. 21218. 1970, 323 pp., $10. Considers the effects of various payment systems on the work and status of professional health workers, the political conditions that create these systems, and ways of organizing different ones.

Poverty and mental retardation: a causal relationship, by Rodger L. Hurley. Random House, 30 W. 60th St., New York, N.Y. 10023. 1969, 301 pp., $7.95. Explores the difference between retardation induced by poverty and genetic retardation.

Poverty and wealth in America, Harold L. Sheppard, ed. Quadrangle Books, 12 E. Delaware Pl., Chicago, Ill. 60611. 1970, 279 pp., $2.45 (paper), $6.95 (cloth). "A *New York Times* book" containing 32 articles, reports, and reviews from the *Times* from 1928 to 1969.

Poverty: new interdisciplinary perspectives, Thomas Weaver and Alvin Magid, eds. Chandler Publishing Co., 124 Spear St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105. 1969, 231 pp., $3.25 (paper). Contains papers and discussions from a symposium of economists, political scientists, sociologists, and other social science specialists held at the University of Kentucky in 1967.

Protective–preventive services: are they synonymous? American Humane Association, Children's Division, Box 1266, Denver Colo. 86201. 1969, 23 pp., 35 cents. Contains two papers presented at the National Conference on Social Welfare Forum, May 1969, on the relation between "preventive social services and Child Protective Services" and discusses areas of overlapping responsibility and difference.

Public administration, by Marshall E. Dimock and Gladys O. Dimock. 4th ed. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 383 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017. 1969, 634 pp., $9.95. Examines

government administration, the civil servant, program management, finance, and economic policy.

Public housing: the politics of poverty, by Leonard Freedman. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 383 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017. 1969, 217 pp., $3.95. Discusses the "profound weakness of the poor in the American system" and examines attitudes toward poverty, race, and public ownership.

Public welfare and employment related services: a preliminary annotated bibliography, February 1970, Raymond J. Cummings and others, eds. Publications Dept., OTPSD, Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies, American Rehabilitation Foundation, 123 E. Grant St., Minneapolis, Minn. 55403. 1970, 135 pp. and appendix, $5. Contains nearly 400 references originally developed for a project on "Evaluation of the Process of Referral of AFDC Recipients for Vocational Rehabilitation and Other Employment Related Service Programs."

Retire to action: a guide to voluntary service, by Julietta K. Arthur. Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tenn., 37202. 1969, 254 pp., $5.95. Suggests different kinds of service for retired persons, ranging from projects in small towns and rural areas to service overseas.

A single society: alternatives to urban apartheid, by Donald Canty. Praeger, Inc., 111 4th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003. 1969, 181 pp., $5.95. Analyzes attempts and failures to deal with slum life and suggests programs for future growth, city government, and the allocation of resources.

The social sources of adjustment to blindness, by Irving Faber Lukoff and Martin Whiteman. American Foundation for the Blind, 15 W. 16th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. 1970, 291 pp., $3.25 (paper). Reports the findings of a survey of 498 blind persons on their adjustment to blindness; the research was supported in part by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (American Foundation for the Blind Research Series, No. 21.)

Social work: an introduction, by Elizabeth A. Ferguson, 2d ed. J. B. Lippincott, East Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105. 1969, 664 pp., $9.50. Describes social work and what it does.

Soulside: inquiries into ghetto culture and community, by Ulf Hannerz. Columbia University Press, 440 W. 110th St., New York, N.Y. 10025. 1969, 236 pp., $5.95. Studies the culture of the ghetto in Washington, D.C. and the coexisting "mainstream" culture.

The staff of the mental health center: a field study, by Raymond M. Glasscote and others. American Psychiatric Association and the National Association for Mental Health, 1700 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. 1969, 207 pp., $6. Reports on an evaluative sampling of eight community mental health center staffs.

Standards for day care service, rev. ed. Child Welfare League of America, 44 E. 23d St., New York, N.Y. 10010. 1969, 123 pp., $2.50 (paper). "Prepared specifically for day care service provided by the community as a child welfare service [but] applicable to other programs not offered as child welfare services. . ."

The States and the urban crisis, Alan K. Campbell, ed. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632. 1970, 215 pp., $5.95. Contains background papers for the American Assembly at Arden House on the inadequate reaction of State governments to metropolitan needs.

Statistical methods for decision making, by William A. Chance. Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1818 Ridge Rd., Homewood, Ill. 60637. 1969, 442 pp., $12.65. Discusses computers, simulation, and a variety of statistical methods.

Technological change: its impact on man and society, by Emmanual G. Mesthene. Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. 1970, 127 pp., $4.95. Discusses the effects of the technological revolution on society, social values, and the economic and political organization.

The theory and practice of mental health consultation, by Gerald Caplan. Basic Books, 404 Park Ave. So., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1970, 397 pp., $10. Presents a theoretical basis and methodology for community mental health consultation.

Toward a national urban policy, Daniel P. Moynihan, ed. Basic Books, 404 Park Ave., So., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1970, 348 pp., $7.95. Explores "every facet of urban policy, from housing to transportation and from crime to education."

Urban and regional planning: a systems approach, by J. Brian McLoughlin. Praeger, Inc., 111 4th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003. 1969, 331 pp., $9. Using computer and mathematical modeling, combines advances in geography, economics, and social science into a method for town and country planning.

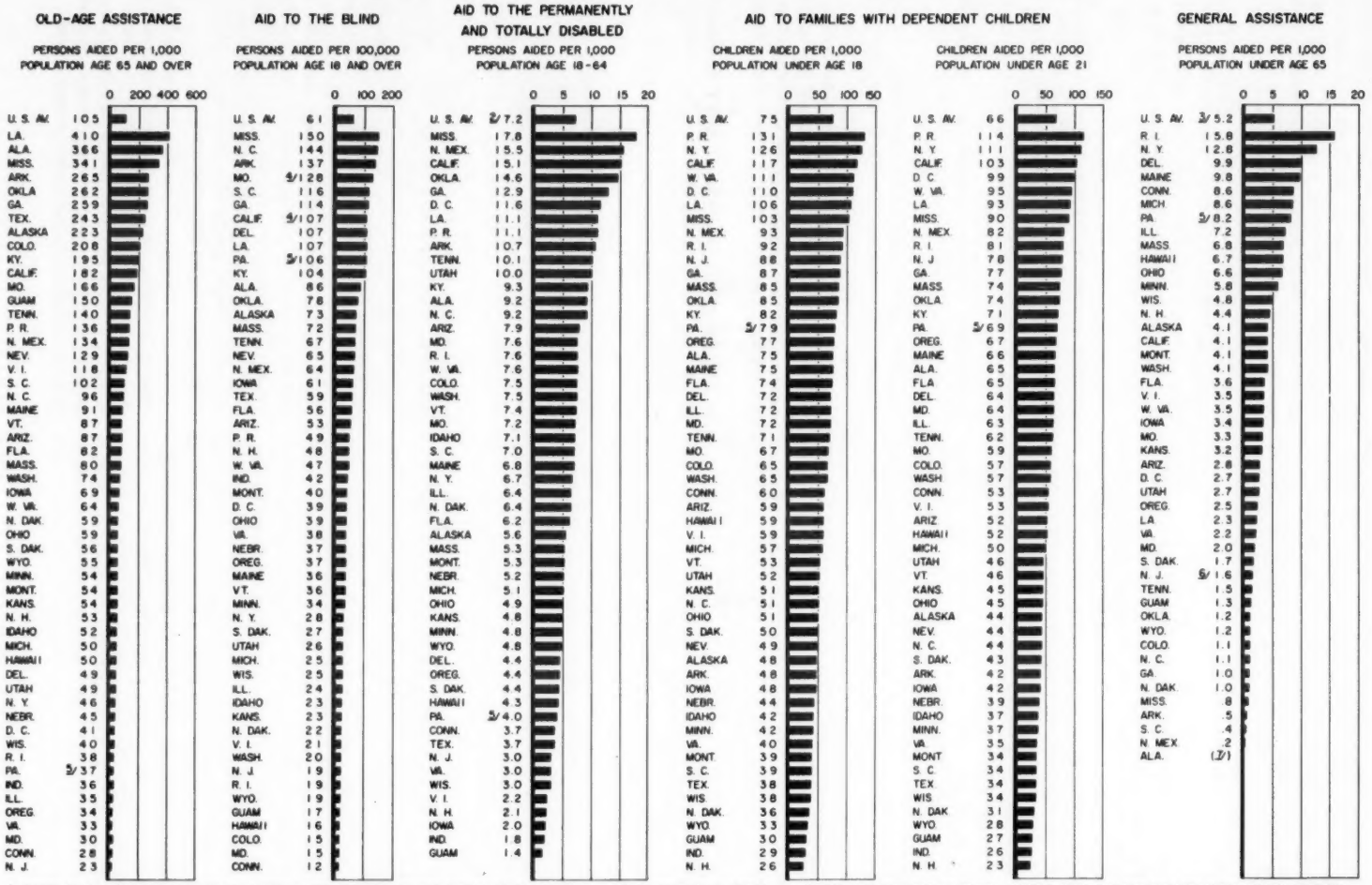
Urban dynamics, by Jay W. Forrester. M.I.T. Press, 77 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. 1969, 285 pp., $12.50. Examines the nature and causes of urban decay; argues that current tax and legal policies are largely responsible for urban problems; and offers tentative remedies.

The urban-industrial frontier: essays on social trends and institutional goals in modern communities, David Popenoe, ed. Rutgers University Press, 30 College Ave., New Brunswick, N.J. 08903. 1969, 176 pp., $7.50. Deals with major institutions such as church, school, community government, employment, and cultural and social welfare organizations.

Without a wedding-ring: casework with unmarried parents, by Jean Pochin. Schocken Books, 67 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1969, 164 pp., $5. Describes the situation of unmarried mothers, their backgrounds, possible motives, and what help can be given. Includes a chapter on the unmarried father.

PROPORTION OF POPULATION RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE MONEY PAYMENTS (RECIPIENT RATES) IN THE UNITED STATES, DECEMBER 1969 1/

(CAUTION SHOULD BE USED IN MAKING COMPARISONS WITH EARLIER RATES BECAUSE OF REVISIONS IN POPULATION ESTIMATES ON WHICH RATES ARE BASED.)

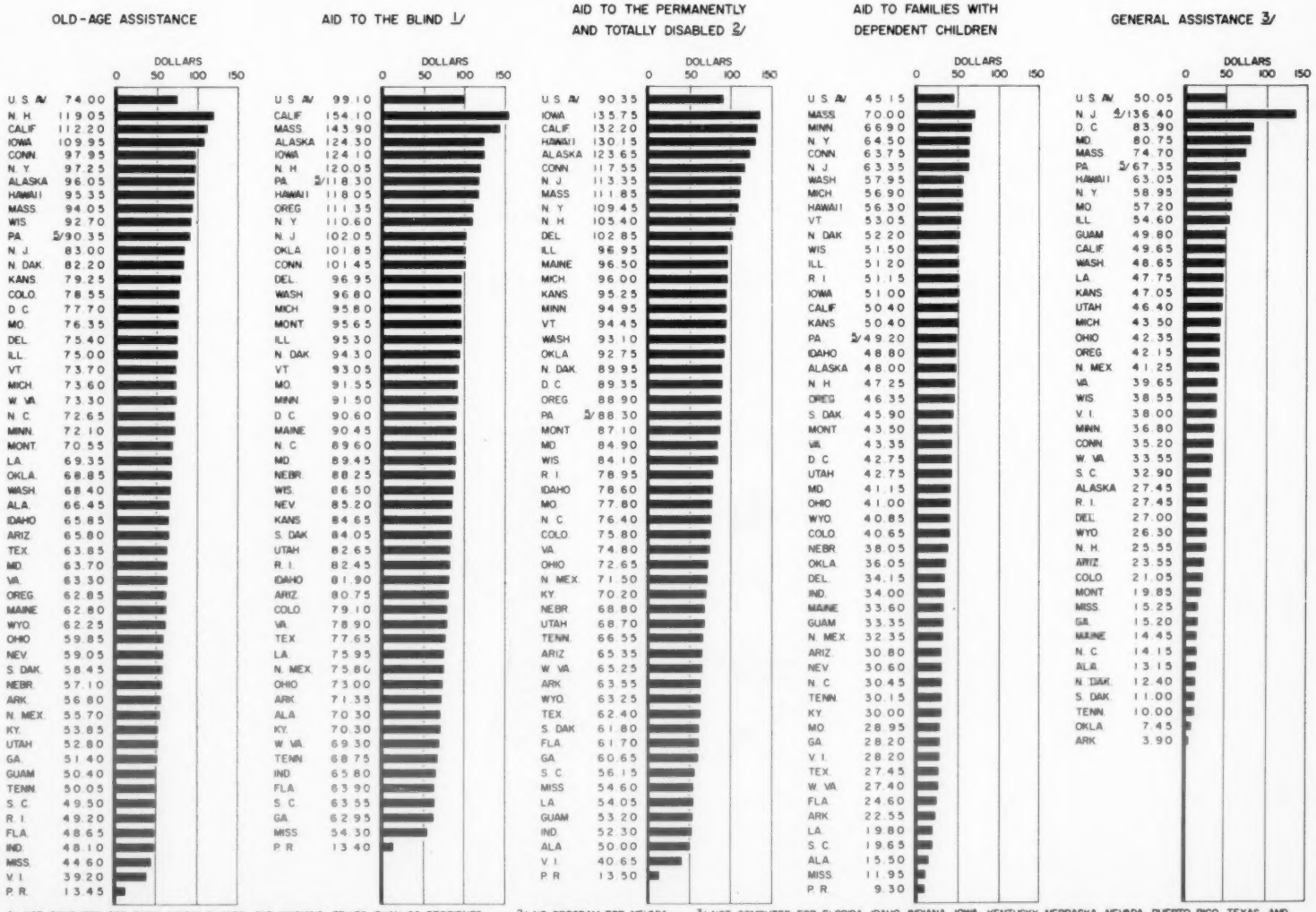


1/ BASED ON CIVILIAN POPULATION AS OF JANUARY 1, 1970, ESTIMATED BY THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. 2/ NO PROGRAM IN NEVADA. 3/ BASED ON DATA FOR 46 STATES. NUMBER AIDED NOT AVAILABLE FOR IDAHO, INDIANA, KENTUCKY, NEBRASKA, NEVADA, PUERTO RICO, TEXAS AND VERMONT. 4/ INCLUDES RECIPIENTS OF PAYMENTS MADE WITHOUT FEDERAL PARTICIPATION. RECIPIENT RATES EXCLUDING THESE RECIPIENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS: CALIFORNIA, 105 AND MISSOURI, 113.
5/ RECIPIENT DATA ESTIMATED. 6/ INCLUDES UNKNOWN NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING MEDICAL CARE, HOSPITALIZATION, AND BURIAL ONLY. 7/ LESS THAN 0.05.

HEW-SRS-NCSS No. 2

* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1970 439-470/1

AVERAGE MONTHLY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE MONEY PAYMENT PER RECIPIENT, DECEMBER 1969



1/ NOT COMPUTED FOR GUAM, VIRGIN ISLANDS, AND WYOMING; FEWER THAN 50 RECIPIENTS. 2/ NO PROGRAM FOR NEVADA. 3/ NOT COMPUTED FOR FLORIDA, IDAHO, INDIANA, IOWA, KENTUCKY, NEBRASKA, NEVADA, PUERTO RICO, TEXAS, AND VERMONT; DATA NOT AVAILABLE. 4/ BASED ON DATA INCLUDING AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF CASES RECEIVING MEDICAL CARE, HOSPITALIZATION, AND BURIAL ONLY, AND TOTAL PAYMENTS FOR THESE SERVICES. 5/ RECIPIENT DATA ESTIMATED.

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